THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

Vol. IX.—October, 1840.—No. 6.

Art. I. *Chinese Grammar: introductory remarks respecting the principles and rules on which it is constructed.*

Language, written and oral, in every tongue and dialect, necessarily contains general principles. By examining, in any language, the nature of its single words, and their arrangement into propositions, these principles can be drawn out and reduced to a system of rules; and then they will constitute the laws of that language, i. e. its *Grammar*. It is an error, therefore, to suppose the Chinese language has no grammar, since, like every other, it has its own general principles or rules of construction. Both in speaking and in writing, all manner of things, and all manner of actions and ideas, are expressed or described rapidly by the Chinese,—thus evincing that they are not wanting forms of speech to communicate their knowledge with ease and accuracy. The want of a better acquaintance with the language, rather than its defects, is doubtless the reason why so many errors have been entertained respecting it, and why in the use of it, by foreigners, it has been so frequently the cause of misunderstanding. The people cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of their medium of communication; and this cannot be fully comprehended without close and long-continued application to study. "It is impossible to make many steps in the search after truth and the nature of the human understanding, of good and evil, or right and wrong, without well considering the nature of language, which is inseparably connected with them." In like manner, for the communication of truth, an accurate knowledge of words and of the principles on which they are arranged, is indispensable.

Words, like old coins and ancient monuments, having an origin and history, may be examined and traced through all their stages and changes, their forms described and their nature analyzed. To do this is the part of the lexicographer, when he undertakes to define their primary and secondary significations; and it is the part of the grammarian, availing himself of the aids of lexicography, to classify them according to their nature and uses, and to draw out and define the rules by which they are framed into discourse. Hitherto the principles on which the Chinese language is constructed have been almost entirely overlooked by European students.

Concerning the arrangement of words into sentences, it may be here premised, before attempting to classify them, that generally:—(*a*) The Chinese adopt the *natural order*, placing the subject first, the verb next, and after it the complement direct or indirect. (*b*) Modifying expressions precede the words to which they belong; thus (1) the adjective is placed before the word to which it is joined; (2) the noun governed before the verb that governs it; (3) the adverb before the verb; and (4) the proposition incidental, circumstantial, or hypothetical, before the main proposition, to which it attaches itself by a conjunctive adjective or by a conjunction. (*c*) The relative position of words and phrases—the casuation of propositions—thus determined, supplies the place, often of every other mark intended to denote their dependence and character,—whether adjective or abverbial, positive or conditional, deliberative, affirmative, or volative. And, (*d*) If the subject is understood, it is because it is a personal pronoun, or because it has been expressed in a preceding clause or sentence, and is to be understood in the same sense. (*e*) If the verb is wanting, it is because it is the substantive verb, or some other easily supplied, or one which has already found a place in preceding sentences, with a subject or complement not the same. (*f*) If several nouns follow each other, either they are in construction with each other, or they form an enumeration, or they are synonyms which explain and determine each other (*g*) If several verbs follow each other, which are not synonymous, the first ones should be taken as adverbs, or as verbal nouns, the subjects of those which follow, or those latter as verbal nouns the complements of those which precede. [This brief 'summary,' taken chiefly from Rémusat, will serve as a clue to the general principles of Chinese grammar.]

Chinese lexicographers attribute the origin of language to their ancient sovereigns. Before the invention of writing, Suijin, they say, contrived to keep a record of events by the use of cords For great

events he tied great knots, and small ones, for small events. Fuhhe subsequently invented a system of writing, intended as a substitute for strings. Tsangheë, an imperial historiographer, by observing the footsteps of birds and beasts, and the phenomena of nature, was enabled to construct words,—the originals of those now in use. After all, however, the Chinese historian has to confess, that with regard to its origin—"There is yet nothing clearly ascertained."

There is a short system of rules for the formation of characters, which, by some writers, is attributed to Fuhhe and his cotemporaries or immediate successors, and is often referred to as being worthy of particular notice. It is described in the Repository, vol. III. pages 17, 18.

These rules, for the formation of words, are somewhat modern, their claims to antiquity notwithstanding. We must not, however, suppose that, in the formation of their language, the Chinese proceeded wholly regardless of principles and general rules. From a few words—the names of things—they would gradually advance to the formation of others, and to classes; the things first named, would be natural objects—animal, mineral, vegetable—such as man, horse, hills, rocks, trees, flowers, fruits, sun, moon, stars, &c.; next celestial phenomena, such as thunder, lightning, rain, winds; and then the productions of man, and his actions. Something like this, it is easy to suppose, was the origin and advance in rearing up this immense fabric. Still concerning the earliest steps of the workmanship, we are compelled to form our opinions chiefly from analogical and *a priori* reasoning,—there being no historical records, no monuments, nor even traditional evidence, on which we can depend.

The object of language—and it is everywhere the same—is twofold: first to *communicate* thoughts, and secondly to communicate them with *rapidity and precision*. In order of time, oral always precedes written language. The names of things, by continued use, would become familiar, and as well-known, and as easily recognized, as the things themselves, long before any occasion would call for a record of them. Articles of food, natural and artificial objects, &c., by degrees becoming familiar, would for special purposes or for amusement be delineated in rude pictures, while the articles and objects would still retain their original names, which would also be given to the pictures. In the process of time, there would come to be pictures of all manner of things, and these would be reduced to words; yet these words as well as the pictures would be regarded as the representatives of our thoughts. By and bye, the use of the words

would supersede the pictures; and the latter, giving place to the former, would become obsolete. Actions also would first be deleniated in this manner, and the pictures subsequently be reduced to words. Qualities and circumstances, both of things and actions, would erelong need to be expressed, which would be done by the same process. In length of time, words would become numerous, and the forms of speech long and cumbersome, and they would need to be abbreviated in order to facilitate, or to give more precision, to the communication of our thoughts. And there would be required three distinct classes of words: *nouns* or names of things; *verbs*, or words which connect other words and give life to discourse; and *particles*, or abbreviated forms of speech. The first and second are the necessary parts of language; for, as Quinctilian says, *alterum est quod loquimur, alterum de quo loquimur.*

Though the object of language is necessarily the same everywhere, yet both its idioms and the modes in which they are described are varied exceedingly among different people. The *usus loquendi* of the Chinese is, perhaps, oftener, than that of any other language, *sui generis*; its usual forms, however, are as well established and supported, and probably are as rigidly adhered to, as those of any other tongue. The language of any people ought to be viewed by foreigners as it is by those to whom it is vernacular. The lexicons of the Chinese and of the Hebrews are arranged according to the genius of each language respectively; but that used by the one could not be well employed by the other.

Chinese lexicographers have adopted various methods in arranging their words. The most philosophical perhaps is that of the 六書 *lŭh shoo.* Next to it is the arbitrary method adopted by the authors of Kanghe's Dictionary, now most in use, and in which all the words of the language are arranged under 214 heads. A third method is somewhat analogous to the alphabetic arrangement; with this special difference, however, that, with the Chinese chief regard is had to the final part of the words. In all these three methods, the tones are noticed, and in the first and third they form a very essential part of the classification.

To assist the young student in the language, who aspires to literary fame, the Chinese have *model-books*, in which, chiefly by examples, both the principles of the language, and a great number of rhetorical terms, are explained and illustrated. One of these books is called The Tyro's Paragon, 初學玉玲瓏 *Choo heŏ Yŭh Linglung* The mode of education most prevalent among

the Chinese, who learn chiefly by following examples, has prevented the elaboration of grammatical systems, such as have been framed for most other languages. The fundamental principles of the language, however, they have noticed; and it is highly desirable that these be collected and arranged in such an order as to serve for general rules.

In the second volume of The Tyro's Paragon, the author says, 文之機無他虛實死活之間辨之矣 *wăn che ke woo ta heu shĭh sze hwŏ che keĕn, peĕn che e*; i. e. "The essential parts of language consist entirely of particles and substantives—nouns and verbs, into which they are divided." *Wăn che ke* might be rendered, the machinery of language, or more freely, 'the vehicle of thoughts:' *ke* denotes the mainspring of any machinery, or that from which its motion issues. *Heu* includes all words which are not used as nouns or verbs, and is equivalent to particles, of which the Chinese have numerous classes, designated according to their use. *Shĭh* is the opposite of *heu*, and denotes substantial words, viz. nouns and verbs, the only two sorts, which, according to the Diversions of Purley, are necessary for the communication of our thoughts. This threefold division of words, equally natural and philosophical, may with propriety be preserved—at least, until a better one can be devised to serve in its stead. The Chinese justly lay great stress on the particles, considering a thorough knowledge of them more important than a knowledge of the other parts of speech.

There is one more topic, that of punctuation, which may be introduced here, as preliminary. In the best kinds of Chinese composition, sentences are so framed that the intelligent reader feels no need of any marks to indicate their respective parts, into periods and clauses; and usually no punctuation is employed either in manuscripts or in printed books. Sometimes, however, it is otherwise. An explanation of the system adopted by the Chinese, may be found at the close of the preface in the *Kang Keen E Che*, or "History Made Easy." Whether any punctuation is used or not, in good writing great care is required in order to construct correctly as well as elegantly the several parts of propositions, or sentences, whether they be simple or compound. In the construction of propositions or sentences, special attention is necessary; and in examining the principles of this language, this subject—the casuation of propositions—should be early brought to the notice of the student, and should be most thoroughly understood

Art II *Account of the Foe Kúe Ki, or travels of Fa Hian in India, translated from the Chinese by M. Rémusat.* By H. H. Wilson, Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(Selected from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. IX. Aug. 1838.)

To all those who take an interest in the early condition of India, and who are anxious to see that obscurity which hangs over the periods of its history prior to the Mohammedan invasion, dissipated, in however partial a degree, some most acceptable glimmerings of light have been presented in a recent continental publication. This work is derived from Chinese literature, and has been made accessible to European readers, by the talents and industry of some of the most eminent of those who have rendered Paris illustrious as a school for the cultivation of the language and literature of China. In the course of last year, a book, which was announced some years ago, but was suspended by the lamented death of its distinguished translator, the late M. Rémusat, and again interrupted by the demise of another celebrated orientalist, M. Klaproth, who had undertaken to continue it, was brought to a completion, and published by M. Landresse. It is entitled the "Foe Kúe Ki," or "Relation des Royaumes Budhiques," and is an account given of his travels by Shi Fa Hian, a Budhist priest and pilgrim, who went upon a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the Budhist religion in India, at the close of the fourth century of our era. Shi Fa Hian, or simply Fa Hian, a name which signifies, according to M. Rémusat, "Manifestation de la Loi de Sakya;" or "Manifestation de la Loi," quitted China with this purpose in the year of our Lord 399 He was six years on his route to Central India, including of course a residence, more or less protracted, at various places on the way; he spent six years in India, and was three years in his return, arriving in China, A. D. 415. The accounts which he gives are such as might be expected from his religious character, and, to say the truth, are somewhat meagre, relating almost exclusively to the condition in which the religion of Budha existed at the different places which he visited. Such as they are, however, they are exceedingly curious and instructive, even in this limited view, and exhibit a picture of the state of Budhism in India, flourishing in some situations and declining in others, which, although we were not wholly unprepared to expect, yet we were hitherto without any accurate means of appreciating. Besides however, their especial subservience to an authentic history of the

religion of Budha, the travels of Fa Hian are of great value, as offering living testimony of the geographical and political division of India at an early date, and one at which we have no other guide on whom we can rely. I have, therefore, thought that a summary review of the principal subjects which are described in the Chinese traveler's journal might not be unacceptable to the Society.

The translation of the Foe Kúe Ki is illustrated by copious notes, by both M. Rémusat and M. Klaproth. Those of the former are peculiarly valuable as explanatory of the system of Budhistic faith, and elucidations of the legends and doctrines to which Fa Hian constantly alludes. He had also explained and verified much of the geography, in which he has been followed by M. Klaproth in still greater detail. In general the verifications are satisfactory, but there are some in which it is difficult to acquiesce. It may be possible, therefore, to improve or correct the attempts which the translators have made, from sources not within their reach,—the notices to be found in Sanskrit writings, and the information furnished by the most recently published travels and researches in the provinces of India, and the countries on its northern and western confines.

Fa Hian is by no means the only Chinese traveler who visited India in the early centuries of Christianity, both before and after the period of his pilgrimage. Of one of these, Hwan Thsang, who traveled to and in India in the first half of the seventh century, M. Landresse has compiled and translated the itinerary as extracted from the Pian-i-tian, a general historical and geographical compilation, the original work of Hwan Thsang, entitled Si-iu-ki, or Description des Contrées de l'Occident, not being procurable at Paris. Some parts of this itinerary afford very useful illustrations of Fa Hian's travels, and will be occasionally referred to. It is much to be regretted that the original work is not available, for it embraces a still more extensive journey through India, than the travels of Fa Hian; but in its present form it is not easy to determine how much is from the personal observations of Hwan Thsang, and how much has been collected from other sources. It would be an object worthy of this Society to procure the original from China, if possible, and contribute to its translation.

Fa Hian, with several companions, set out on his travels, from his usual place of residence, the city of Chang-an in China, in the second year Hung-chi, a name given to the years of the reign of Yoe-heng, a prince of the later Tsin dynasty, of which the second year corresponds with A. D. 399. From Chang-an, which is still a city

south of Sing-nan-fu, in the province of Shense, the travelers crossed the Sung mountains and proceeded to Chang-y, identified by M. Rémusat with the modern Kan-chu Thence they arrived at Thun-hwang, the modern Sha-chu, and from that city traversed in seventeen days the great desert, Sha-ho or Sha-mo, to the kingdom of Shen-shen, in the neighborhood of lake Loh or Lop. This country was known, first by the name of Leu-lan, and then under the denomination given it by Fa Hian, to the Chinese, through political relations, prior to the Christian era. At the time it was visited by the pilgrims, the people resembled the Chinese in their manners and dress, and professed the faith of Budha. From thence to the westward, the same religion prevailed amongst the inhabitants of all the different states: it is worthy of remark that Fa Hian observes of them, "although they speak different languages," which he is pleased to term barbarous, "yet the religious orders in all of them apply themselves to the study of the books and language of India." These books were probably composed in Mágadhi or Páli, a form of Sanskrit which has been apparently always adopted by the Budhists for their practical writings, their ritual and their morality, although they seem to have retained the use of Sanskrit for their metaphysical speculations. According to Rémusat, the Chinese make no distinction between the two, but confound Sanskrit and Páli, under the common appellation of Fan. In either case we have a religious literature derived from India, widely diffused through Central Asia in the first centuries of the Christian era.

From Shen-shen, fifteen days to the northwest, Fa Hian came to the kingdom of U-i, or as the French writers preferably read it, U-hu, the barbarians of U, or the Oigurs. Thence again he journeyed to the southwest, and after a difficult and perilous route of thirty-five days arrived at Yu-thsan, the Chinese appellation of Kho-ten, described as a highly flourishing kingdom wholly devoted to Budhism. Fa Hian took up his abode in a Sang-kia-len, a monastery of which the brotherhood consisted of no fewer than three thousand persons. Sang-kia-len, as M. Rémusat intimates, is clearly a Sanskrit term. It is explained by Chinese writers to signify "Jardin de Plusieurs, ou de Communauté." M. Burnouf suggests that the original term may have been Sangágáram, "Maison de la Réunion, ou de Prêtres Unis." Perhaps a better etymology would be Sang-álaya, or Sankhy-álaya; alaya signifying habitation or receptacle, and sankhya, number; or sanga, a community; or possibly it may have been Sanga-vihára, Vihára signifying a Budhist temple, and also a pleasure-

ground. It is used in either sense alone, and Remusat mentions that Chinese dictionaries give the word also by itself, Ki-á-la. They would no doubt render the word Vi-há-ra, Vi-ha-la, as *l* is uniformly substituted for *r* in Fa Hian's orthography of Sanskrit terms. Whether the first syllable is susceptible of the requisite change, I submit to more competent authority. The peculiar appellation of the establishment was Ki-u--mati, a word evidently of Sanskrit origin, though of doubtful signification.

Thus far the route of the Chinese travelers may be easily followed, but we now begin to encounter difficulties. One of the party left his companions, and went on alone to Ki-pin, or Co-phene, the country, according to the annotators, in which Ghizni and Candahar are situated. Fa Hian proceeded to Tsu-ho, twenty-five days' journey from Kho-tan, but in what direction is not specified. It appears, however, from Chinese geographers, quoted by M. Rémusat, that Tsu-ho was considered sometimes as the same with Chu-kin-pho, the modern Yarkand; and although this is questioned by others, yet it is placed by them in the same neighborhood. According to a work quoted by Klaproth, it is the actual canton of the Ku-ke-yar, some distance southwest from Yarkand on the Kara-su, one of the feeders of the Yarkand river. It is clear by what follows that it is close to the mountains, and therefore it is necessarily more to the south than Yarkand.

Four days' journey south from Tsu-ho brought the travelers to the Tsung-ling mountains, the Onion mountains of the Chinese, forming the western portion of the great Kuen-lun chain and blending with the Bolor range which unites the two systems of the Teënshan and Kuen-lun, comprising the Karakoram and Pamer ridges, which separate Little Tibet and the country of the Dardus from Badakshan. At this distance Fa Hian found the kingdom of Yu-ho-ei, from whence he resumed his journey, and in twenty-five days arrived in the kingdom of Kie-sha.

M. Rémusat informs us that Chinese geography affords no means of verifying these places, and leaves them himself undetermined. M. Klaproth has no better authority, but he endeavors, it may be suspected not quite successfully, to supply the deficiency: observing, what is no doubt, generally speaking, true, that in the high mountains of Central Asia the roads which cross the glaciers, or which turn them, continue to be the same for long periods of time, he takes it for granted that the Tsung-ling could be crossed from Ku-ke-yar, only by the route followed by Mir Izzet Ullah, in his journey from

Leh to Yarkand, which passed through Ku-ke-yar, or by Ka-ka-lun. He, therefore, identifies Yu-ho-ei with Ladakh, and, taking the Chinese traveler on a retrograde course to the southeast, supposes that he thence proceeded westward to Balti. To this there are objections which appear not easily set aside. Four days would not have brought the travelers into Ladakh, and going thence to Balti they would have had to follow for a considerable portion of their journey the large northern arm of the Indus, the Shayuk, which they would scarcely have omitted to mention. Neither is it necessary to send them so much out of their way, for there are several routes along the mountains to the west, and Izzet Ullah reports, that from this very vicinity, or Kakalun, there had been a road to Balti, by which in former times the Kalmuks and Kirghizes penetrated into the country. The passage had been closed, artificially, according to his story; but no doubt by some natural impediment, if it really was no longer practicable. We must, therefore, question the identity of Yu-ho-ei and Ladakh.

Where then was Kie-sha? Its bearing from Yu-ho-ei is not stated, but it must have been towards the west, whether due west or deviating to south or north is doubtful. M. Rémusat, we learn from Klaproth, was inclined to suppose it to be Kashmir, but the latter takes what appear to be reasonable exceptions to the conjecture. Fa Hian, for instance, says the only grain that ripens in the country is wheat: the principal harvest of Kashmir is of rice. The country, he says, is mountainous and cold, and much snow falls in it: this is only partially true of Kashmir, particularly in the last respect, as little snow falls there. To get to Kashmir, also, the travelers must have crossed the Shaynk, as Klaproth observes, a circumstance to which they would possibly have adverted. It seems more likely, therefore, that we must look to the west, and Balti, as suggested by Klaproth, is not improbably the direction, somewhere, perhaps, in the vicinity of Skardu or Hounz. The objections to it arise from the specified distances to Kie-sha, and from it to India: the first is twenty-five days' journey, the latter thirty days to the west, then fifteen more to the southwest, when the Indus is crossed. During the whole of this time the travelers are engaged in a very rugged country, and have to make their way over precipitous passes and by tortuous defiles. Supposing them, therefore, to have walked from fifteen to twenty miles per day, the direct average distance would probably not have exceeded four or five. Still, at the lowest computation, they could not have gone much less than three hundred miles, and this interval should have carried them far beyond the parallel

of the Indus, where it makes its way through the Indian Caucasus. The French annotators, indeed, conduct Fa Hian to the Kama instead of the Indus Proper, and this gains something in the westing, but not sufficient to accord with the specified distance, although more perhaps than is compatible with the position of countries subsequently described. It is impossible, therefore, not to suspect something wrong in the distances or the bearing, perhaps in both. The whole journey lay amongst the Tsung-ling mountains, and Kie-sha is said to be in the midst of them. This and the distance would agree best with Badakhsan. But then it would be necessary to take Fa Hian from thence rather to the southeast than to the west, or by Chitral along the northern edge of the Caucasus towards the India. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems most probable that we must look for Kie-sha in one of the divisions of Little Tibet, towards Skardu.

Wherever the Kie-sha was situated, it was an eminently Budhist country. The king celebrates the Pan-che-yue-sse, which is explained to signify the great quinquennial assembly. Klaproth proposes as its Sanskrit original, for it is clearly Sanskrit, *pancha*, five, and *yukti*, union; but yukti is never used to denote an assembly or meeting of men: the expression was more probably Pancha-varsha, from *pancha*, five, and *varsha*, a year. Besides this the kingdom was sanctified by the possession of a stone vase, which served Foe or Sakya as a pik-dani, or spitting-pot. It was also happy in preserving one of his teeth, over which the people of the country had erected a tower, a sthupa or tope.

The whole of the journey from Kie-sha lay amongst mountains covered with snow, summer and winter, a description sufficiently applicable to the lofty peaks of this part of the Indian Caucasus. On crossing the range, or rather the northern branch of it, occurred the little kingdom of Tho-li, one of the provinces of the India of the North,—a division of India which, according to Chinese geographers, was situated to the northeast of the Indus, south of the Hindú Kosh, forming the eastern portion of Afghanistan. If M. Rémusat has thus accurately represented the position laid down by Chinese geographers, we have evident proof of erroneous bearings at least, for no part of Afghanistan, nor of India of the North, if comprehended within its limits, can be said to be northeast of the Indus; it is either North or northwest. The proper position, however, of India of the north may be conjectured to have been along the upper part of the course of the Indus, on either side of the mountains and either bank of the river; extending westwards to the Kohistan of Cabúl, and

eastwards to Kashmir or Ladakh, a position confirmed by Hwan Thsang, who places the boundary of the north of India six hundred *le*, or about two hundred miles, east from Cabúl. Tho-lí is conjecturally identified by Rémusat with Darda, and the conjecture is better founded than, perhaps, he was aware, for Chilas, or Dardu, the capital of the Dard country, is situated amongst the mountains where the Indus enters the main range. It lies on the southern or eastern bank.

At Tho-lí, it is related that a colossal statue of Mi-le Phu-sa, the future Budha Maitreya, was to be seen, copied after the original by an arhat, or saint, who was allowed to visit the heaven in which Maitreya dwells until the time of his advent on earth, in order to take his likeness. The image was of wood; or from its size, eight toises, or about eighty feet high, we might have thought the famous figures at Bamian were intended; not that it is necessary to go so far to the west to find similar monuments of Budhism, for amongst the information gathered by Mr. Trebeck respecting the countries on the north of the Indian Caucasus, he was informed that near the capital of Upper Chitral, was a gigantic figure of a man, cut out of the rock, in all probability the representation of a Budha, past or to come.

Following the direction of southwest, along mountains whose sides rose prependicularly to the height of eight hundred feet, and at whose base flowed the Sin-theu, the Sindhu of the Hindús, the Indus of our maps, Fa Hian came, at the end of the fifteen days' march, to the place where it was crossed by a bridge of ropes, the jhula, or swinging bridge, still so frequent in the mountains: the descent to the river was by seven hundred steps cut in the mountain; the breadth of the river was eighty paces. No European has yet had an opportunity of knowing as much of the upper course of the Indus as the Chinese did fifteen hundred years ago.

When the river is passed the traveler is in the kingdom of U-chang. This country forms the northern part of India, and the people, in language and manners, are the same as those of Central India. According to M. Rémusat, the term U-chang, which is also read U-cha and U-chang-na, signifies garden, and is therefore the Sanskrit word *Udyána*. Agreeably to his notion of Fa Hian's crossing the Kama, not the Sindh, U-chang must lie to the west of the Indus, to the north of Cabúl. If, however, the Indus was the river crossed, it lies towards Kashmir, or in the Bamba and Khatak country; and this is the position in which it might be expected accord-

ing to Sanskrit authorities. M. Rémusat observes that no such appellation is found among the modern names of places in this part of India, nor in the lists extracted by Wilford and Ward from the Purânas. The remark, he adds, may be considered of general application, and is true of the greater part of the rest of the itinerary. He seems to doubt if Hindú geography would furnish much illustration of these travels, but recommends the perusal of some of the standard compositions of the Hindús, such as the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, "pour en dépouiller toute la partie géographique," a task, as he observes, too dry, arduous, and often ungrateful to have many attractions for European scholars, but one that would be of inestimable service to learned investigation. The task is well worthy of being undertaken, and would prove, I apprehend, less ungrateful than M. Rémusat imagined, the notices of places in the works referred to, and in others of a similar class, being very numerous, and their general position being frequently verifiable. It is, I understand, in a fair way of being accomplished, although the credit of it will not be reaped by the Sanskrit scholars of our country; and professor Lassen of Bonn will have the merit of supplying that deficiency which M. Rémusat bewailed.

To return, however, to U-chang: it is not correct to say that its name is not traceable in Sanskrit authorities; and is rather remarkable that we find the name in what may be considered rather its vernacular than its classical form. We have not Udyána, but Ujjána, the U-chang-na of the later Chinese traveler. Ujjána is named in the Mahábhárata in the Vana Parva, as one of the Tirthas, or holy places, of the north, and its mention follows close upon that of Kashmir, from which, therefore, its contiguity may be inferred. We have, therefore, the Sanskrit verification of its name and site, and this confirms its position on the upper part of the Indus, possibly on either bank, extending westward towards Cabúl and eastward to Kashmir. Chinese authority, also, is not wanting for such a position, for Ma Twanlin, as quoted by Rémusat, states that it lies east of Kian-to-lo; and in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, Kian-to-lo is bounded on the east by the Indus. He places U-chang six hundred *le* to the north of Kian-to-lo. In accounts extracted by M. Rémusat from Chinese geographical compilations, U-chang is evidently confounded with Kashmir: the description of its mountains, its valleys, its forests, its fertility, its irrigation, its rice, its lakes tenanted by dragons, the Nagas of the Raja Tarangini or Kashmirian chronicles, and the character given of its people as ingenious and gentle, but cowardly and crafty,

are still perfectly applicable to Kashmir. At a later period, however, the Chinese knew Kashmir by its own name: Kia-she-mi-lo is its appellation in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang. It is easy to understand, however, this seeming confusion. Kashmir had at various times a political boundary, considerably exceeding its natural limits. At different periods, therefore, different districts, such as Ujjána, were or were not considered to be portions of Kashmir.

From Ujjana, Fa Hian proceeded to the south to the kingdom of Su-ho-to: the distance is not particularized, but from what follows it does not seem to have been considerable. M. Rémusat, considering Fa Hian to be on the west of the Indus, would look for this place towards Persia, but this seems unnecessarily remote. No Indian appellation is proposed for Su-ho-to, but we might suspect its offering some analogy to Suvata, the probable original of Swat, or Sewát. That district, it is true, is to the west of the upper part of the Indus, and we have no intimation that the Indus had been again crossed; it is clear, however, from the description of the ensuing portions of the route, that Fa Hian must have passed to the west of it at some time or other, and it is possible that it was at this period that he recrossed the river. His omitting to mention the circumstance is of no great importance, as similar omissions frequently recur in the course of the journey. It need not, however, have been necessary to have crossed the river so soon, for the kingdom of Swát, or Suvát, as late as the time of Baber, extended on both sides of the Indus. Whatever may have been its exact situation, there is no doubt of its being properly included within the limits of India, as it is the scene of a legend, which may be traced to a Hindú origin. It is said that Shy, the celestial emperor, tried the benevolence of Fo, or Sakya, in this country; he changed himself into a hawk and a dove, and gave chase to one of his transformations in the disguise of the other. Fo, to redeem the dove, offered the supposed hawk his own flesh. This story is told in the Vana Parva of the Mahábhárata, at some length, of king Usinara. His charity was similarly tested by Indra, the Shy of the Budhists; but instead of the double transformation of the same divinity, which Rémusat himself thinks requires some apology, Agni, the god of fire, in the Hindú legend personates the pigeon. The scene of the story, as told in the Mahábhárata, is left undefined; but it is either near the Vitasta, the Jhelum, or the Yamuná. In other places, the story is told of Sivi, the son of Usinara, after whom the Saivas, or Siviras, or Sauviras, a northern tribe, situated near the Indus, was named. Usinara is also a descendant of Anu, the son of

Yayati, emperor of all India, and to him the north of India was assigned as his portion. It seems most likely, therefore, that we need scarcely cross the Indus for Su-ho-to, or if we do, that we have not far to go for it.

Descending to the east, at five days' distance, Fa Hian comes to Kian-tho-wei. This M. Rémusat proposes to correct to Kian-tho-lo, upon the authority of Hwan Thsang; and the Kian-tho-lo of the Chinese is the country of the Gandaridæ of classical writers, the Gandhára of the Hindús, and Candahar of the Persian. The latter, however, may no doubt be regarded as an instance of the migration of a name, for the modern city is more to the west than was probably the most westernmost boundary of the ancient principality. As mentioned above, Hwan Thsang makes the Indus the western boundary of Kian-tho-lo; and, as I have explained at some length in another place, in the appendix to the Essay on the History of Kashmir, the Gandhára of the Hindús, or at least one division of it, was situated on that river, and thence was distinguished in Sanskrit writings as Sindhu Gandhára. The province extended, indeed, at some periods, across a considerable portion of the Panjáb, for Strabo has a Gandaris between the Hydraotis and the Hydaspes; and in the Mahábhárata, the Gandháras are first met with upon crossing the Satlej, and approaching the Airávatí, the Hydraotis, or Ravi. We have, therefore, no objection to M. Rémusat's correction or verification, although we have to his supposition that the route of Fa Hian lay so far west as the modern city of Kandahar. Kian-tho-wei is said to be the kingdom of Fa-i, or Dharma-vardhana, son of A-yu, or Asoka; the first words meaning, in both Chinese and Sanskrit, increase of the law,—the second, exemption from sorrow. We have no such prince as Dharma-vardhana in any of the Indian dynasties, but Asoka, either as a king of Kashmir or of Magadha, is a person of great celebrity. I shall have occasion, I hope, before long, to introduce him more particularly to the notice of the Society.

Seven days east of Kian-tho-wei is the kingdom of Chu-cha-chilo, explained to signify decapitated,—and leading us, therefore, to its Sanskrit etymology, Chynta-sita, fallen head, Foë having here made an alms-giving of his head: more to the east is a place where he gave his body to a hungry tiger. In both places, lofty towers or topes were erected to commemorate these instances of self-abandonment. They were not visited by Fa Hian, and they cannot be readily verified; but many topes have been discovered in this part of the Panjáb, and especially between the Indus and the Jhelum, which may mark

the situation of the spot There may, indeed, be some reference to the name which it has been agreed to assign to Manikyála, and Chu-cha-chilo may be a Budhist corruption and alteration of Taksha-sila.

Four days' journey south from Kian-tho-wei, the road comes to the kingdom of Foe-len-sha. M Rémusat observes, we can scarcely doubt that we have here the earliest mention of the name of the Beluches, borrowed apparently from Sanskrit; for this supposition, however, he has no warrant except a similarity of sound, and his notion of the western route of Fa Hian His conjecture, however, is acquiesced in by Klaproth and Landresse. The situation of the Beluch tribe is, however, evidently quite beyond the possible route of Fa Hian in this part of his travels. Hwan Thsang has a city in the southeast of Gandhára, east of the Indus, called Pa-lou-sha, whilst he terms the capital, west of the river, Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo; no doubt intended for Purusha-pur, and possibly the origin of the modern Peshawar. One of these is possibly the Foe-leu-sha of Fa Hian, and, as situated west of the Indus, it must be the latter. The most magnificent monument in all India, a sthupa, stood at this place; erected, it was said, by king Ki-ni-kia, or Kanishka, known as a Scythian sovereign of Kashmir. It was forty toises high, equal to one hundred and twenty-two metres, or above four hundred feet. This elevation much exceeds that of any building yet met with, and is no doubt much exaggerated, but it probably included a spire or steeple which the sthupas or topes seem to have borne, but which has in every instance fallen down; at any rate there is no doubt that some of the most stately edifices of the class of sthupas and topes were erected in the neighborbood of Peshawar, or between it and Jelalabad. The country, indeed, possessed the most valuable relique of Budhism, the Kamandalu, or water-pot of Foė, to possess himself of which, according to Fa Hian, the king of the Yue-chi, who was a zealous worshiper of Budha, invaded the country: the pot, however, was not inclined to travel, and although it was placed upon a stout carriage, drawn by eight strong elephants, not an inch would it stir. The king was therefore obliged to leave it in its place, building there a tower or tope, endowing a monastery and establishing a garrison. The pot was there when Fa Hian arrived, and was the object of daily adoration. This notice of the invasion of the Panjáb by the Yue-chi, the Getæ or Scythians, at a period which a Chinese traveler in the fourth century calls ancient, and the mention of their attachment to Budhism, afford us historical facts which confirm in a very interesting and authentic manner the information gleaned from other sources

regarding the political condition of this part of India, shortly before and after the era of Christianity.

Sixteen yojans to the west, we come to the position of the kingdom of Na-ki-e and the city of Hi-lo; and adopting the smallest as the most probable valuation of the yojan at four miles, we are thus carried sixty-four miles. Hwan Thsang calls it Na-ko-lo-ho, and describes the route hither from Kia-pi-she or Cabúl, as going first to the east six hundred *le* to Lan-pha, and then one hundred *le* across mountains and the great river (the Indus, or one of its feeders,) southeast; bearings and distances that are quite irreconcilable with those of Fa Hian, as well as incompatible with the notions of Rémusat, that we should look for these places about Kandahar. They, however, may be taken, with much reservation, as establishing the position of these places east of Cabúl. For Na-ki-e, a probable Sanskrit origin can scarcely be suggested; but in Na-ko-lo-ho we have evidently an attempt to represent Nagara, a city; often used also as a proper name. It is probably to be looked for about Jelalabad, which is between fifty and sixty miles west of Peshawar, and in the neighborhood of which very many topes have been found. Fa Hian states that many towers and temples are described as being situated in the country of Na-ki-e.

Proceeding from thence, Fa Hian crossed the Lesser Snowy mountains: he describes the cold as so intense that it endangered the lives of the party, and one of them actually perished: the snow is said to rest upon the range in summer as well as winter. According to M. Rémusat's view of the western journey of the pilgrims, these mountains are supposed to be part of the Solimani range, running parallel with and west of the Indus; and the description leaves no doubt that it must have been some part of this range which they traversed,—consequently proving their having passed to the west of the Indus. At the same time, if the range was crossed as far to the south as would be necessary on coming straight from Kandahar, it is very unlikely that such intense cold would have been experienced, as the Solimani mountains decrease rapidly in elevation, and the temperature proportionably augments as they extend to the south. The coldest part of the range is from the Safed-koh to Ghizni, and the latter is therefore the limit of the migrations of the Chinese pilgrims to the west and south. It does not seem necessary, however, to take them so far, as supposing Na-ko-lo to have been on the site of Jelalabad, the southern road to India would conduct them across the highest part of the Khyber range in the immediate vicinity of the Safed-

koh, a part of the range on which, as Mr. Elphinstone mentions, the snow lies till the spring is far advanced. Fa Hian and his companions chose a rather unfavorable season for traveling, proceeding in the second moon of winter—or some time in December, M. Rémusat infers from the computation of the Chinese calendar, but very possibly later—and it is not wonderful therefore that they met with severe weather.

After crossing the chain, the travelers came to the kingdom of Lo-i. M. Rémusat observes that this is a name elsewhere totally unknown, but it is not improbably intended for Lohita, a name found in the Mahábhárata, as that of a country, as is also Lo-ha, the appellation of a people, in the north of India; associated with the Kambojas, and others in the same locality, subdued by Arjuna. The principal tribes of the Afghans, between the Solimani hills and the Indus, are known collectively by the term of Lohanis; and in them we may perhaps have the Lohas of the Hindú geographers, and the Lo-i of the Chinese. It will be necessary, however, consistently with what follows, to place them more to the north than the position they now occupy, or in the present seats of the Khyberis or Vaziris.

At the distance of ten days' south occurs the kingdom of Po-na, a name for which I cannot offer any equivalent, nor has M. Rémusat attempted any. To the east of it, at three days' journey, the Sin-theu is again passed; and here we are all somewhat perplexed. Consistently with the western course of Fa Hian's journey, he must, it is true, cross the Indus a second time; and, according to the view taken of his route by his translators, he does this at a point below the junction of the rivers of the Panjáb with the main stream, and either at Mitan or Bhakar. To this there are various objections which seem to be insuperable. In the first place, it depends upon Fa Hian's journey to Kandahar, a circumstance in itself exceedingly improbable. In the next place, had he proceeded in this direction to Mathura on the Jumna, the place where he next arrives, he would have had an extensive tract of inhospitable desert to cross, in which the travelers must have suffered severely from fatigue and privation, of which he makes no mention. On the contrary, he observes, as soon as the Sin-theu is passed, the country towards the south presents nothing but plains without mountains or great rivers, but abounding in small streams and water-courses, a description far from applicable to the sandy tracts of Jysalmer and Bhikaner. Finally, he says, on crossing the Sin-theu he comes into the kingdom of Pi-cha, or Pi-thsa, a word probably, as Rémusat supposes, intended to represent

Pan-cha-nada, or Panjab: but if the Indus was crossed as low down as Mitan, it was the desert, not the Panjáb, into which the travelers must have come. It seems, therefore, most likely that we are to look for Po-na somewhere about Tak, the chief town of the Doulat Khel tribe, situated about one hundred miles south from the Khyber mountains, and through which passes the great road to Cabúl. It is also about thirty miles west of the Indus. Crossing the river at this distance something to the southeast of Tak, the travelers would soon have been upon what has been, in all ages, the high road to India by way of Lahore, and would have prosecuted his journey through such a tract as he describes Pi-cha to have been.

The next stage was a long one, but it brings us on sure ground. At a distance of eighty yojans to the southeast is the kingdom of Mo-thu-lo, a kingdom which, from its name and position relatively to places subsequently noticed, can be no other than Mathura. Fa Hian says he followed the river Pou-na, meaning probably the Yamuna; another proof, by the way, that he came from the northwest rather than the west. Throughout the whole of this route all the princes, according to our traveler, were firmly attached to the faith of Budha, and treated his priests with profound respect. They offer food to them with their own hands, and spread a carpet before them, and then sit down in front upon a seat. In the presence of holy men they dare not sit down upon a bed: "En presence des religieux ils n'oseraient s'asseoir sur un lit." Several Budhist towers are described as existing in Mathura and its vicinity; but we have also mention of Brahmans, and it would appear as if on the journey no Budhist monasteries or monuments of any importance had occurred, —none are described.

Eighteen yojans, about seventy miles, to the southeast is the kingdom of Sang-kia-shi, a name found in Pali lists of countries as Samkassam. It occurs also in Sanskrit; and Kusadhwaja, the brother of Janaka, is called in the Rámáyana king of Sankásya: this is changed in some authorities to Kási, but no doubt erroneously. In the time of Hwan Thsang this name had become obsolete, and he terms the place Ki-ei-pi-tha. A large sthupa was in its vicinity; its site may be be regarded as somewhere about Mainpuri, or Farrakhabad, in the Doab. From thence Fa Hian goes seven yojans southeast to Ku-jo-kie-che in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, for the Sanskrit Kanya-kubja. It is also termed, or rather translated, in Chinese Buddhist works, Khiu-nie-ching, the city of Humpbacked Damsels, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word, in reference to

the legend of Vayu's cursing the hundred daughters of king Kusanábha to become crooked as a punishment for their scornfully rejecting his suit, and refusing him as a bridegroom: the story is told in the Rámáyana. The Budhists have adopted the legend, converting the God of Wind into the Hermit of the Great Tree, and making the number of offending damsels ninety and nine. Heng and Heng-kia are the common denominations of the Gang or Ganga. West of the city Fa Hian finds a tower erected to commemorate Foe's having preached there. There are plenty of remains and ruins about Kanoj, but we have had no notice yet of anything like a tope. Three yojans across the river is the forest of Ho li.

Ten yojans to the southwest is the great kingdom of Sha-chi. Klaproth places this in the Oude country on the Gumti, but neither the distance nor the direction would bring us to that river: they would agree better with the position of Cawnpore, but that the district is on the north bank of the Ganges, probably on the river opposite. No Indian original is proposed for the name. It might be supposed to represent Srávasti, a city celebrated in both Budhist and Brahmanical writings; and it probably does so with this modification, that it was a more modern and more Brahmanical city than the ancient Srávasti, known at the time of Fa Hian's journey by a different appellation, She-wei, a city at which Fa Hian next arrives, at the distance of only eight yojans south from Sha-chi.

She-wei is situated in Kiu-sa-lo, a province in which we readily recognise Kosala, the Sanskrit name of an extensive kingdom which, although varying in its limits at various periods, originally and for the most part comprehended the modern Oude. That She-wei was the same as Srávasti, a city which, according to the Vishnu Purana, was founded by Sravasta, the ninth prince of the dynasty of Ikshwáku, we have various intimations. In the itinerary of Hwan Thsang it is called also She-lo-va-si-ti; and he mentions that it was the capital of king Po-lo-sí-na-chi-to,—in Sanskrit, Prasena-jit, who is said, in Budhist works, to have been king of Srávastí at the time of Sákya's appearance. Fa Hian calls the king Pho-see-ho, an abbreviation quite admissible, as the name occurs in Sanskrit Prasena, as well as Prasena-jit. It is clear, therefore, that the Chinese travelers looked upon She-wei as Srávastí. At the time, however, that the first of them visited it, it must have undergone a great alteration from the flourishing state in which it is described at the period of Sákya's teaching. Fa Hian observes, the population was trifling, and the town contained not more than two hundred houses. It seems likely,

therefore, that the prosperity and name had been transferred to the neighboring city of Sha-chi, where the Brahmans seemed to predominate; as they had repeatedly endeavored, it is said, to eradicate a shrub planted by Budha himself, although it continued to grow in spite of them. In the neighborhood of She-wei were very many Budhist temples and towers of great sanctity, some vestiges of which might possibly even yet be discovered in the neighborhood of Fyzababad, or Oude. Its distance and bearing from Sha-chi seems to be not accurately stated, as from what follows it must lie rather east than south.

At twelve yojans to the southeast occurs the city Na-pi-kia. We have no Sanskrit name for it. It is said to be the birth-place of the Budha Krakuchhanda, the name given to which in Sanskrit is Kshema-vati: the situation of the place, with reference to the succeeding as well as preceding route, should be to the north of Gorakhpur. East from this one yojan is Kia-wei-lo-wei, a place of all the most eminent in Budhist topography as the native city of Sakya himself: this circumstance, as well as the similarity of the name, leaves no doubt that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, is intended.

Kapila-vastu is, under different modifications, the appellation by which the birth-place of Sákya is designated by all the Budhist nations. The Burmese call it Kapila-vot; the Siamese, Kabila-pat; the Cingalese, Kimbul-vat; the Mongols, Kabilit; the Chinese, more commonly Kia-pi-lo, or Kia-pi-li: Hwan Thsang writes it Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu. The Mongols and Tibetans also use other words which are translations of the Sanskrit, Kapila, tawny, and Vastu, site; Sar-skyas-gji, and Ser-skyas-ghrong, "Sol ou ville de jaune foncé." Kapila-vastu also means the cell or abode of Kapila, a celebrated sage, by whom, according to the Budhist legend, this place was assigned to the emigrant tribe of the Sákas, of which Sákya Sinha Gautama, or Fo, was a member; and hence his appellation.

Although, however agreed as to the name, the authorities of the different countries were but ill informed as to the exact site of Kapila, as I have had former occasion to notice in some remarks added to an abstract of Mr. Csoma's "Analysis of the Dul-va, or first portion of the Kah-gyur," published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January, 1832. It was most commonly said to be in Magadha, or Bahar; but it appeared from Tibetan writers, that although this might be politically, it was not topographically correct, and that Kapila-vastu must have been situated to the eastward, somewhere near the hills separating Nipál from Gorakphur, it being

described as situated on the Rohini, a mountain-stream which is one of the feeders of the Rapti. The itineraries of both Fa Hian and Hwan Thsang show that the position was accurately described, and that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, the birthplace of Sákya, was situated north of Gorakhpur, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills.

No less valuable service is rendered to history than to topography by this part of Fa Hian's journey, for whilst it shows that the accounts of cities and their princes, given by Budhist writers, were the same in his day as in the present, it proves also that even in his time the religion of Budha had suffered in the eastern districts of Hindústan a serious and irreparable decline. From the period when he arrives at Mathura and proceeds towards the east, however numerous may be the temples and towers, the work of past ages, the Seng-kia-las, the convents of Budhist mendicants, are rare and thinly inhabited; instances of persevering, if not of triumphant malignity, on the part of the Brahmans become frequent. Srávasti, at least the Srávasti of the Budhists, has shrunk to a village; and now when we come to the native city of the Budha Sákya Sinha himself, where his ancestors had been princes, and where we might naturally expect to find a numerous population, enriched by the liberal endowments of the pious, and the expenditure of innumerable pilgrims, we meet according to an eye-witness, one too who is evidently not disposed to undervalue proofs of the prosperity of his faith, we meet with neither prince nor people, with none but a few religious ascetics, and a dozen or two of huts occupied by their votaries, insufficient to redeem the scene from being, "as it were, one vast solitude." Every spot in the neighborhood was sanctified as the scene of some recorded incident in the early life of Foe, and on every such spot a tower had been erected. These towers were still to be seen, but the principality was what it is at present, a wilderness untenanted by man, the haunt of wild animals which made traveling through it dangerous. "Sur les routes on a à redouter le éléphants blancs, et les lions, de sorte qu'on n'y peut voyager sans précaution." Now these circumstances place us in the Terai, a tract which in our day is not only characterised by solitude and beasts of prey, but for a considerable portion of the year by its deadly hostility to human life. Yet at the birth of Sákya, and for some ages afterwards, it was the habitation of mankind, and the field which religious piety loved to decorate with structures intended to testify its own fervor, and stimulate the faith of posterity. By the fourth century of the Christian era, the

wilderness had usurped the place of the cultivated plain, the hum of men had yielded to the silence of the forest, but we have yet no intimation of the unhealthiness of the district, and the only danger apprehended by travelers was from elephants and lions. The monuments were still erect, and some few of the human race still lingered amongst their shadows. The work of desolation, however, remained unarrested, and even those few, and the still more durable existences of brick and stone were finally swept away. Such is the history of the past: from that of the future a more cheering prospect is to be expected; and deadly as may be the vapors which the deep shades of the Terai engender, the time may yet come when they shall be scattered before the advance of culture and civilization, and a more permanently prosperous city, and other and holier and more lasting shrines shall rise on the site of the birthplace of Foë.

Having left the place of the nativity of Sákya Sinha, Kapila or Kapila-vastu, Fa Hian traveled five yojans to the east of the kingdom of Lan-mo, where stood a tower erected over a portion of the body of the saint. This part of India was in ancient times included in the kingdom of Mithila, the king of which was Janaka, the father-in-law of Rama, and many vestiges of those two princes are still found in the names and traditions of different places in the district. Lan-mo, as Klaproth conjectures, is probably intended for Ráma; and we have in the present day more than one Ráma-pur in that part of the country where we might look for Lan-mo. Lan-mo, however, must have been within the limits of the Terai at the time when it was visited by Fa Hian, as it was entirely deserted, and the only habitation there was a monastery, recently founded, it is said, by the king of the country at the instigation of certain Tao-sse, intending, according to the French writers, a particular Chinese sect, but possibly here designed for the Tapaswis, Hindú religious ascetics, who had become Sha-mi, Samanæans, or Sramanas, ascetic followers of Budha, and had established a religious society in the forest.

Proceeding still towards the east, two other towers were passed, at the distance of three and of four yojans respectively, and from the last, twelve yojans, was the city of Kiu-i-na-kie, near the bank of the Hi-li-an-river. This river, as appears from what follows, is no doubt the Gandak, but the distance is in that case much exaggerated. The direction, however, is southeast rather than east, and as the pilgrims must have approached the foot of the mountains in their visits to Kapila and Lan-mo, the distance may in part be thus accounted for.

Kiu-i-na-kie is called by Hwan Thsang, Kiu-shi-na-kie-lo, in which we have the Sanskrit Kusa-nagara and Pali Kusi-ná-râ, the name of the city near which, according to Budhist works, Sákya terminated his career. The identity of the term is confirmed by the Tibetan appellation, Tsa-chog-grong, which means the city of the Excellent Grass, and Kusa-nagara is the city of Kusa grass, the *Poa cynosuroides*, which is held sacred, and is much used in the rites of the Brahmans. The word, in various modifications, was familiar to Sanskrit accounts of the country somewhat to the east of this, the residence of one branch of the descendants of Kusa, of whom the sage Viswámitra was a distinguished individual. His sister, after her death, gave her name to the Kausiki river, the modern Kosi. According to Tibetan authors, Kusa-nagara was in Kamrup, which is the most western portion of Asám, or the northern portion of Rangpur. This position, an improbable one enough, was perhaps the consequence of confounding Kusa-nagara with the Kausiki river, and carrying events which occurred on the east of the former to the east of the latter, thus coming near to the frontiers of Kamrup. We need not, however, go so far to the east as even the Kosi river for proofs of Fa Hian's accuracy, both as to site and name, and the identification is remarkable and interesting. In the number of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June, 1837, is a notice of a colossal alto-relievo, found by Mr. Liston, of which a sketch was sent by him to the editor. It proved to be an image of Budha, surrounded by compartments in which various actions of his life were represented, surrounded by figures of celestial spirits, and supported by the elephant and lion. This was found in Pergunna Sidowa, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, at a place called Kusia, no doubt the Kiu-i of Fa Hian; for not only do the name and site, and the presence of this image of Budha confirm the identity, but Mr. Liston mentions also several pyramidal mounds and heaps of rubbish in the same neighborhood, the remains of a Budhist city of some extent. This, it is said by the people of the country, was the residence of Mata-kuanr, or mrita-kumára, that is, of the dead prince. The country people have a legend of their own to account for the appellation, but they look upon the dead prince as a powerful divinity; and the genuine owner of the appellation is no doubt the prince and prophet Sákya Sinha, who, according to the records of all his followers, expired in this vicinity.

Hi-li-an is conjectured to be intended for Hiranya, gold. The same river is also called by the Chinese Shi-lai-na-fa-ti, and they

translate it, "having gold," the sense of the Sanskrit, Suvarnavatí, which is therefore no doubt the original. Hwan Thsang calls it A-shi-to-fa-ti, which he explains "unparalleled." It is no doubt a Sanskrit synonym, Ajitavati, or unsurpassed. These are all names applicable to rivers, though I do not find any Hindú authority for applying them particularly to the Gandak.

On the bank of the river, Sákya or Foë, obtained Pan-ni-huan, the Sanskrit Parinirvána, 'liberation from existence.' Fa Hian merely adds with respect to the locality, that the scene of this event was north of the city. Hwan Thsang says, that at three or four *le* north-west from the town, the river is crossed to a forest on its west bank, in which the Nirván of Foë was obtained, but it must be rather the eastern or northern bank. A tower was built on the spot by king Asoka to commemorate the occurrence, and a column of stone was erected in front of the tower, on which was inscribed "Budha, aged eighty years, entered into Nirván at midnight, the fifteenth lunation of Vaisakh."

Now here, again, we have in the mention of this tower and column particulars of great interest, for in all probability the very column seen by Fa Hian is still standing. It is thus described by Mr. Hodgson: "I found it in the Tarai of Zillah Saran, half-way between the town of Bettiah and the river Gandak, west and a very little north of Bettiah, and very near to the Nipal frontiers." The column, or *lát*, of which a drawing is given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for October, 1834, stands close to a village called Matiya, in which name we have again an allusion to the Mata, or Mrita, the deceased Sákya. The column bears an inscription, but a much longer one than that which Fa Hian has translated. It is in the same characters as the inscriptions on the lát of Firoz Shah at Delhi, and the pillar in the fort of Allahabad, and is, in fact, the very same inscription on all three. The character has been deciphered by the extraordinary ingenuity and persevering diligence of Mr. Prinsep, and presents an edict enjoining the observance of Budhism, by a prince yet untraced in the dynasties of India, Deva-priya, or Priyadarsí: the latter was at first supposed to identify him with Deveni Peatissa, king of Ceylon, B. C. 307, by whom Budhism was introduced into that island; but the latest notice we have from India mentions that Mr. Turnour has discovered that Piya-dasi is an epithet applied to Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta and king of Magadhá, about 280 B. C., the great patron of Budhism. The inscription is in Mágadhi or Pali, and is no doubt the work of a Bud-

hist prince or princes. That the particular inscription on the Matiya lát bore the record of Sákya's nirván, may have been a piece of misinformation given to Fa Hian by persons unable to read it, or it may perhaps be yet made out. When its purport and locality are considered, we can scarcely doubt that it is the monument which Fa Hian beheld.

Twenty yojans to the south we come to the scene of many of Sáyka's adventures, and one in which many monuments of his actions occurred. Amongst them we have another stone pillar with an inscription; the purport of this is not named, but it is said to have been erected by the family of Sákya at his injunction. Here again we have an interesting verification; for proceeding along the Gandak to the distance of about seventy miles we come to Bakra, where stands another Budhist column. It is of stone, but no inscription has yet been found: at the same time it is considered by Mr. Stephenson, by whom it is inscribed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, March, 1835, that half its height is buried in the ground, and there may be an inscription on the lower part. Of its character there is no doubt, for at a short distance to the north was a considerable mound of solid brick-work, a tower, or tope; and in the vicinity was found a mutilated image of Budha, with an inscription in an ancient form of Nagari, which, thanks chiefly to Mr. Prinsep, has also been made legible. The inscription, which has been found since in many other places, is a moral stanza, importing that Budha has enjoined the motives of actions which are the sources of virtue, and prohibited those which are its impediments—

Ye dharma hetu prabhavá
Hetúnsteshám Tathagato
Hyavadach cha yannirodham
Tesham cha mahásramana:

being a memorial-verse, found, with unimportant variations of the reading, in various Budhist books in different languages.

Again we can tread in the footsteps of Fa Hian. At five yojans to the east or southeast, he comes to the celebrated city of Phi-she-li, a city easily recognised in the Vesáli of the Budhist, and Vaisáli of Sanskrit writers. We have very early authority for its name and site. In the Rámáyana, Ráma and Lakshmana, after crossing first the Sona river, and then the Ganges, come, after some short distance, to the pleasant city of Visálá or Vaisáli, founded by Visala, the virtuous son of Ikshwaku and Alambushá. In the days of Sákya, Vaisáli was the seat of a republic; the population termed Li-chchi-

vis, had no king, but governed themselves, and were very opulent and powerful. Fa Hian calls Vaisálí a kingdom, but he makes no mention of its condition beyond specifying various Budhist towers or topes. In Hwan Thsang's time it was entirely in ruins, and it was probably in progress of decay in that of his predecessor. One tower is ascribed to a holy woman, named An-pho-lo, in whom we have probably the Ahalyú of the Hindús, the wife of Gautama, who resided here at the time of Ráma's visit to Vaisálí. We need not be at a loss for the remains of Vaisáli, as at such a distance from the Bakra lát as we might expect, Mr. Stephenson met with the remains of a large mound and an extensive fort, which he considered to be of considerable antiquity; heaps of brick rubbish were also found in the neighborhood of the column. The city of Vaisáli no doubt occupied part of the tract between Bakra and Sinhiya.

From Phi-she-li, at the distance of four yojans, about the actual distance from Sinhiya, Fa Hian came to the confluence of the five rivers. Three are easily identified, the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone; the two others may have been formed by the branches of the Ganges, opposite to Danapur, which in Major Rennell's map were separated by an island of some extent. The mouth of the Deva, also, is not very remote. Having crossed the river, and gone one yojan to the south, the travelers entered the kingdom of Mo-kie-thi, the Sanskrit Magadhá, and the city Pa-li-an-fu. The latter is called by Klaproth the ancient Chinese mode of writing Patali-putra, which in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang appears as Pho-ta-li-tsu-ching, the ching, or city of the Son of the tree Pho-to-li, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit Patali-putra. It was also known to the Chinese by another of its Sanskrit names, Kusuma-pura, the city of Flowers, converted into Kiu-su-mo-phu-lo. Both names occur in a legend explaining their origin, extracted by Klaproth from a Chinese work, which he terms "Mémoires sur les Pays Occidentaux sous les Thang," written A. D. 640. The legend is not the same as that given in the Vrihat-kathá, which I translated and published in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, for March, 1824; but we need not advert to it except for one curious statement, that at this time, or early in the seventh century, the ancient city was in ruins and over-run with jungle. "*Au sud du fleuve Khing-kia, est l'ancienne ville: son emplacement est vide et couvert d'herbes; on n'y voit que des fondations et des ruines.*" If this was the case so long ago, we need be surprised that we cannot now discover vestiges of Palibothra in the vicinity of the Ganges, the Erranoboas (or Gandak), and the Sone

At the time of Fa Hian's visit, the palace of A-yu, or Asoka, was entire, and presented specimens of sculpture so superior to the efforts of actual art, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects. Genii labored for the patron of Foë.

Three *le* south from the capital was the city Ni-li, built by A-yu, embellished by a handsome column surmounted by a lion. The columns of Matiah and Bakra, both have lions for their capitals. The pillar at Ni-li is said to have borne an inscription, and another pillar with an inscription, recording the liberality of king A-yu, or Asoka, was close to the town. At the same place stood a great tower, and a temple with a stone bearing impressions of the feet of Foe. The columns and stone were also seen by Hwan Thsang, who reports, however, that not long before his arrival the king of Magadha, She-shang-kia, who persecuted the Budhists, had had it thrown into the river. It returned, however, to its old berth. The inscription on the column here, he says, "The king without sorrow, firm in his faith, has thrice made a gift of Jambudwipa (India) to the priests of the law of Budha, and has as often redeemed it from them with all his pearls and all his treasure." It may be worth while to look about in Bahar for traces of such reliques; an inscription of king Asoka, particularly if it had a date, would be an inestimable prize. We do not find a name amongst the later Andhra kings of Magadhá, as specified in the Puránas, that can be supposed to be the original of She-shang-kia. Ni-li is evidently Sanskrit, though there is no such name at present in the vicinity of Patna.

Having now entered upon the field of Sakya's first career as a religious teacher, places of note in Budhist hagiography occur in rapid succession. Nine yojans to the southeast is a mountain where Sákya was entertained with a concert by the Gandharbas. Thence one yojan was the hamlet of Na-lo, the birthplace of Sariputra, one of Sákya's first disciples; thence one yojan to the west was the new city of the royal residence, now Lo-yue-khi, or Rája-griha, built by A-che-shi, the Ajáta-satru of the Hindús. Thence to the south was the old capital of Magadha, the ancient Rájagriha, the residence of Ping-sha; also called by the Chinese Pin-po-so-lo, in whom we have therefore the Bimbasara, or Vimbasára, of the Puráuas, the father of Ajáta-satru, by whom the site of the capital was removed. The ancient city was the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadhá kings, who was slain by the sons of Pandu, Arjuna, and Balaráma. Rájagriha is described as situated amongst five mountains, which formed, as it were, its walls. It was deserted at the time of Fa

Hian's visit, and we need not be surprised, therefore, if fifteen centuries should have effaced all traces of a city which was one of the most ancient and celebrated in the India of the Hindús. We might suppose this to be the case, from the total silence of European travelers and residents, in respect to Rájagriha, but it is not so; and although little known, vestiges of the old capital of Magadhá do exist. The best account of them is to be found in two Calcutta publications, the Calcutta Annual Register for 1822, and the Oriental Magazine for 1823. It is part of the journal of a native traveler, of a route from Calcutta to Patna by Gaya and Behar in 1820. The traveler was, in fact, a Jain in the service of colonel Mackenzie, and the journal is the report which he furnished of his proceedings, translated by other natives in colonel Mackenzie's employ, and revised for publication by myself. Sri-nivasia, as he was named, saw many things which Europeans would have had few opportunities of seeing, or would probably have overlooked if they had. Amongst these he saw the remains of Rájagriha. "Traveling amongst the Rájgiri hills," he observes, "I came to an open place strewed with the ruins of a city, for about four miles from south to north, and two miles from east to west. On the four cardinal points of this ruined city are four hills. It was amidst these four hills that Srenika Mahá Rája founded his capital, giving it the name of Rájagriha, or Giripur, subsequently modified as Rájgiri." On the hills, also, he describes the remains of temples which he claims, as he is bound to do, for Jain, but which were probably Budhist; and he notices a mound of singular appearance, the reliques of a lofty tower, erected, as he relates after the vulgar tradition, for the residence of Sálabhadra, who was a spirit of heaven in the form of the son of the minister of Srenika. His father reared a lofty edifice, in the upper chamber of which the son was nearer to his proper sphere. The tower was possibly one of those here seen by Fa Hian. In a work now in course of publication, the first volume being printed, the report of Dr. Buchanan on different provinces of Gangetic Hindústan, edited by Mr. Martin, there is also in the description of the Bahar province an account of Rájagriha. Dr. Buchanan describes the remains of the fort noticed by Sri-nivasia, also the mound, which he says is of a circular form. He also particularizes the remains of an extensive bund, answering at once the purpose of a road across the low country in the vicinity; and a bank to confine the water of the rains between it and the hills. It was about twelve feet high, or perhaps more, and one hundred and fifty feet broad, running about four miles to the east, and must have been a work of great cost and labor.

Fifteen *li* to the southeast, Fa Hian came to the mountain Khi-she. In this were several excavations, in one of which, Ananda, a disciple of Foë, had been detained by the demon Phi-si-un, in the form of a vulture. Phi-si-un is the Sanskrit Pi-su-na, any malignant being. Ananda was extricated by his master. The mountain derives its name from the legend, being called in Sanskrit Budhist works, Gridhra-kúta, Vulture-peak, expressed in Hwan Thsang's itinerary by Ki-li-tho-lo-Kiu-to. The more classical name is Giri-vraja, the Mountain Tract, by which it is mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Klaproth conceives it to be the same with Ghidore, a place on the borders of Bahar; but although the name may be derived from the old designation, the situation of Ghidore shows that it could not have been Khi-she. We need not be at any loss, however, and the identification is of peculiar interest, as it proves that, in some instances at least, Fa Hian's bearings and distances are worthy of confidence. In Buchanan's description of Bahar we find a mountain termed Giri-yak, which the people of the country identify with Giri-vraja, and it is precisely in the spot where the Chinese traveler places Khi-she, or between seven and eight miles (fifteen *le*) southeast from Rájagriha. The name and position are not the only points in which the places agree; Fa Hian particularizes one cavern, and mentions that there are several hundreds. He notices also a stone grotto, a throne of the four Budhas, a stone block once hurled at Foë, and the ruins of the hall in which Foë had preached. Buchanan describes the remains of a paved road to the summit of the mountain, a platform and the remains of a temple, which had probably been solid, like those, as he particularly mentions, of the Budhists. A column of brick, sixty-eight feet in circumference rises here, from a pedestal twenty-five feet square. This pillar is called in the neighborhood the seat of Jarasandha, and Buchanan is at a loss to conjecture its purport: but it is no doubt a monument of the same class as the pillars or láts already described, and is a Budhist monument. It is rather singular that Buchanan does not describe any excavations. There are numerous caverns in the Bahar hills, west of the Phalgu, the Barábar-pahár; but Rájagriha and Giri-yak are in the range running east of the Phalgu, extending to Ramgur. The former range has been visited by different Europeans, and many caves and inscriptions have been discovered; the latter has been visited by none but Buchanan, and it is possible that the excavations concealed by thickets, and situated in places of difficult access, may have escaped his observation. There are, nevertheless sufficient proofs of the identity of Khi-she and Giri-yak

Fa Hian then returns to the new capital, that is, to the more modern Rájagriha, which must have been somewhere about the city of Bahar,—a place where numerous vestiges of Budhism are still to be traced. He then proceeds four yojans towards the west, to the town of Kia-ye, manifestly Gaya; and it is curious to find it stated, that even at this early date it was entirely deserted. Of course the Gaya of Fa Hian was the Budha Gaya of the present day, a mass of ruins of an eminently Budhist character. Fa Hian takes no notice whatever of the Hindú Gaya, in which he probably sacrifices topographical correctness to sectarian resentment at its having eclipsed the sacred city of his religion. He passes on to the south some eight or ten miles to the mountain Kukutapáda, and on the route notices many places sanctified by incidents in the life of Sákya. In the mountain was a habitation of arhats, meaning excavations, and near it the sepulture of Kasyapa, the Budha preceding Sákya. At Fa Hian's visit the mountain was overrun with thick and tangled forest, abounding with wild beasts, as is still the case on the confines of Bahar and Ramgur. Hwan Thsang places this mountain east of the river Mon-ho, the Mohani branch of the Phalgu, which rises in Ramgur, about twenty miles southeast from Gaya.

Fa Hian, although he seems to have avoided the Gaya of the Hindús, considered Benares to be worthy of a visit: he, therefore, returned to Pa-lian-foe, or Patalipur, and proceeded along the Ganges westward, to Pho-lo-na-i in the kingdom of Kia-shi, or to Varanásí in the province of Kasi. Ten *le* northeast was a celebrated temple, erected in memory of a pious Phy-chi-foe, a Bhikshuka or mendicant, who obtained nirvána here; the origin, perhaps, of that erected in the twelfth century by Budhist princes at Sárnath. Many establishments of Budhist ascetics, and towers or topes, were found by Fa Hian in this locality.

Whilst engaged in this visit, Fa Hian notices the situation of a kingdom two hundred yojans distant to the south, which he calls Ta-thsen, intending probably, as M. Klaproth supposes, Da-khin, or Dach-chin. The circumstance, however, which attaches particular interest to this notice is an account which he gives of a cavern-temple, called, he says, the temple of Pho-ho-yue, which is the Indian for pigeon. The word is not easily recognised, as it is rather unlike the Sanskrit parávata, which is the synonym of pigeon, that most resembles it. This, however, is of less importance than the description of a temple in five stories, each story containing numerous chambers or cells, all cut out of the solid rock, and tenanted by arhats: establishing, con-

sequently, the existence of a Budhist cavern-temple at the end of the fourth century. The hill is said to be uninhabited and remote from any village, and the people of the country are a perverse generation who do not know the law. The description is too fanciful and vague to allow us to propose its identification, but Ellora, Keneri, or Ajantá furnish us with the original of the picture. The existence of cavern-temples in the Dekkan, prior to the fourth century of our era, is thus established.

From Pho-lo-na-i the Chinese traveler returned to Magadhá, where he sat himself down in a monastery for three years, to study the sacred language and copy the books. In the north of India, he complains that the heads of the different establishments preserved the precepts of the law by tradition only, communicating them orally to their disciples, being, therefore, even less conversant with their literature than the Budhists amongst whom he had sojourned beyond the Himálaya. In Central India he obtained several Budhist works, which it would be interesting to identify with some of those still current in Tibet, Nipál, Ava, and Ceylon. Those which Fa Hian actually procured were a collection of the precepts of the Mo-ho-seng-tchi, or Mahá Sankhya, which, he says, had been followed ever since the days of Foë; and a collection of the united precepts of the Sa-pho-to, which, according to Klaproth, is the Sanskrit name of one of five classes of precepts attributed to Sákya, and means "La Somme," the sum and substance of the law,—intending, perhaps, Sarva, or Samánya-dharmma. It contained about seven thousand *ki-e*, that is, *gathas*, or verses. He had several extracts from the A-pi-tan, Abhidharmma, in six thousand stanzas; a copy of the Sútras, fundamental rules, two thousand five hundred verses; a volume of Sútras, on the means of obtaining final liberation, of about five thousand verses; and the Apitan, or Abhidharmma, of the Mahá-seng-chi. He speaks also of the greater and lesser Kueï, two of the three works which, according to Chinese authorities, form the three precious treasures, teaching reliance on Budha, on the law, and on the church,—the remarkable triad of the Budhist faith; and he alludes to eighteen collections of precepts, the authorities of different masters, still recognised, as M. Landresse shows, by the Budhists. At this early period, therefore, the great body of Budhist literature, either in Sanskrit or Pali, was in existence.

Having acquired these valuable means of giving a fresh impulse to Budhism in his native land, Fa Hian quitted the neighborhood of Patna, and proceeded down the Ganges, eighteen yojans to the

great kingdom of Chan-pho, on its southern bank. This is Champa, near Bhagalpur, the capital of Anga at the time of the great war, and a place of consideration from a very ancient date to at least the eighth and ninth centuries. Fifty yojans more to the east, at the confluence of the river with the sea, was the kingdom of To-mo-li-ti. The religion of Budha was in a flourishing state in this principality, and Fa Hian abode there two years, transcribing manuscripts and copying images.

To-mo-li-ti, or as Hwan Thsang writes it, Tan-mo-li-ti, is the undoubted representative of a town or province named Támralipta in the Mahábhárata, and Tamalipti or Tamalipta in the Váya and Márkandeya Puránas, and in many other Sanskrit works. In the Dasa Kumára and Vrihat Katha, collections of tales written in the ninth and twelfth centuries, it is always mentioned as the great port of Bengal, and the seat of an active and flourishing commerce with the countries and islands of the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian ocean. Going upwards, then, to the fourth century, we find it possessed of the same character. At the end of his residence, the merchants, says Fa Hian, were embarking in large ships to sail to the southwest, and in one of them he took a passage. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind being favorable, the northwest monsoon having, in fact, set in, the vessel arrived at the kingdom of the Lions, Sinhálaya, Sinhalá, or Ceylon, in fourteen days; a passage which at such a season was very practicable. Támralipta being on the sea at the mouth of the Ganges, and corresponding with it in appellation, is always considered to be connected with the modern Tamlook. No inquiries, as far as I am aware, have ever been instituted in this neighborhood for antiquarian remains, and possibly they would not be very successful if they were, as although such monuments might have resisted the ravages of time, they would in all likelihood have been swept away by the encroachments of the sea. Molunghis now labor where Phy-chi-foës formerly practiced self-denial, and the Seng-kia-lan, where Fa Hian studied the Fan language, is now converted into the Cutchery of the salt agent of the English government of Bengal. Sinhala, it is said, has a number of small islands in its vicinity, and produces many precious things—jewels and pearls.

Sinhalá was formerly, it is said, tenanted by demons and evil genii, alluding evidently to the Hindú legend, of its being the residence of Rávana and the Rákshasas, in which character it appears in the Rámáyana. When Foë visited the island he left the impression of his feet, one on the north of the capital, and the other on the top of a

mountain According to the Cingalese, an impression of the foot of Gautama is visible on the summit of Adam's Peak. In the time of Fa Hian, the supposed site of the other foot-mark was covered by a stately temple, forty *chang* high, or one hundred and twenty-two metres. On the mountain Abhayagiri was a Sang-kia-tan, with five thousand mendicants. In the city was a building, in which a tooth of Foë was preserved, and which was displayed to the people with great pomp and solemnity in the middle of every third month. Fa Hian remained two years in Sinhalá, and notices various places and occurrences, showing the prosperous state of Budhism in the island. His chief object in prolonging his stay was, however, the procuring of religious books; and he mentions having obtained the volume which contained the precepts of Mi-sha-se, also the long A-han and the miscellaneous A-han, and a collection of different Tsang,—books not found in China, and all written in the Fan language. Of these the first is said to signify, in Sanskrit, 'the unmanifested, the imperceptible,' meanings for which no similar Sanskrit term can be suggested. A-han is more manageable. It is said to mean 'the unequaled,' or rather unattainable law, and is the Sanskrit Agama, a term applied to religious writings. *Tsang* is a Chinese word, but it corresponds in purport to terms in Tibetan, Mongol, and Sanskrit, signifying a container, a receptacle, a vessel, a box or vase,—the Sanskrit word *pitaka*, a box or vase, is the designation still given, in Ava and Ceylon, to some of the most important of their religious books. "The revelations of Gotamo," says Mr. Turnour, "orally perpetuated for four centuries, were then collected into the Pitakattya, or the three Pitakas, which now form, if I may so express myself, the Budhistical Scriptures, divided into Vinayo, Abhidhammo and Satto Pitako." According to the same well-informed writer, the Budhist Scriptures were first transferred from oral to written perpetuation in Ceylon, in the reign of Wattagámini, between B. C. 104 and 76, a period quite compatible with their multiplication and extension in the fourth century of the Christian era, when copied by Fa Hian.

At the expiration of two years, Fa Hian embarked for Ceylon, and after a voyage of ninety days, in which his ship sprung a leak and encountered a violent storm, he arrived at Ye-pho-thi, Yava-dwipa, the island of Java. He remained there five months, and then again took ship; he again met with bad weather, and at the end of sixty days the crew were short of water. They, therefore, bore up to the promontory of Lao, part of a range in the district of Lai-chu-fu, in the province of Shantung,—still bearing the same appellation ac-

cording to M. Landresse. Fa Hian's companions, after taking in water and provisions proceeded on their voyage to Yang-chu, but he remained at Tsing-chu, a city still so called, in Shantung: after a short stay he resumed his route towards Chang-an, but stopped on his way in the south at Kiang-ning-fu, or Nanking, [?] as M. Landresse supposes, having been absent from China fifteen years; six years on his way to India, six years a resident there, and three on his return,—the latter took place in the twelfth of the years I-yi, corresponding with A. D. 414.

Fa Hian records but few details of his voyage, but there are some that merit notice. He leaves Sinhalá in a merchant-vessel large enough to contain more than two hundred persons, and provisioned for the long voyage across the Indian ocean. The storm that he encountered was an incident likely enough to have occurred in those latitudes. His fellow-voyagers make for a small island, perhaps one of those along the western coast of Sumatra, where they find out and repair the leak, but they are in great alarm lest they should be attacked by pirates, with whom those seas abounded,—the Malays being then addicted to the same practices which they still pursue.

Of Java, Fa Hian merely mentions that the heretics and Brahmans are there in great numbers, but that there is no question of the law of Foe. Scanty as is the observation, it is of importance. Fa Hian remained five months on the island, and would most assuredly have found out any vesitige of Budhism, had such existed. The Brahmanical religion then preceded Budhism in Java, and the establishment of Hindús was prior to the fourth century. The evidence thus furnished corroborates the tradition of the natives, respecting the arrival of colonists from India, from Kling, or the Coromandel Coast, in the first century after Christ, although sir S. Raffles and Mr. Crawfurd have hesitated to believe in so remote a date. Fa Hian's testimony is decisive as to the non-existence of Budhists in the beginning of the fifth century, and their increase in numbers and influence so as to have led to the construction of the magnificent temple of Buro Bodor, must have been the work of two of three centuries at least, confirming opinions I have elsewhere advocated, that from the fifth to the eighth century was the period of the great migration of the Budhists to the eastward, consequent upon some partial persecution of the sect by the Brahmans.

Another important fact derivable from Fa Hian's testimony, is the extent and adventurous character of Hindú navigation. It has been sometimes denied that the Hindús ever were navigators, notwith-

standing the proofs afforded by the commerce of the Red Sea, that ships must have come from the continent of India thither, and that they were freighted not only with the products of India, but of the farther East. Now in Fa Hian's voyage from Tamoliti to Ceylon we have no reason to suppose the infrequency of Hindú voyages by sea, or that the voyagers or mariners were other than natives of India. Again, in the vessel that sails from Ceylon, we may possibly have Cingalese navigators; but we find Brahmans in Java, and if Hindús went not to sea, how did they get there? But in the subsequent part of the voyage we have proof that Brahmanical Hindús at least, if not Brahmans, voyaged even to China; and, by the way, we have also evidence that the Javanese tradition, mentioned by sir S. Raffles, which places the first intercourse with China in the tenth century, is wholly unfounded. With regard, however, to the crew of the vessel in which Fa Hian sailed from Java, it is related by him that when they reached the shore near Lao, they employed him to interpret for them with the people of the country,—consequently they were not Chinese. What were they then? We shall hear: "After a passage of a month, a frightful wind and a violent rain came on in the second watch of the night. The merchants and passengers were all equally terrified; Fa Hian immediately, and with all his heart, prayed to Ku-an-shi-in, and to all the religious of the land of Han, imploring the gods to succor them and make the heavens tranquil. When the weather became calm the Brahmans took counsel amongst them, and said, 'It is the presence of this Samanean on board that has brought all this danger upon us. Let us leave him on the shore of some island in the sea.' And so would they have done had not the Tan-yuei (the benefactor, the patron, from the Sanskrit *dána*, a gift), of the poor pilgrim taken his part, and threatened the merchants with the anger of the king of China if they abandoned him." Here then we have Brahmans on board ship,—merchants trading to China, and exercising an authority which showed that the mariners were subordinate to them, if, indeed, by merchants Fa Hian does not mean mariners also, as is most probable. Fa Hian had lived too long in India to mistake his men, and their hostility to a Samanean is a confirmation of the accuracy of the designation. It deserves remark also, that these Brahmans had no intention of creeping along the shore; for it is said that their vessel, like the former, carried two hundred people, and was provisioned for fifty days. In the voyage from Ceylon the ship was provided for ninety days, and for two hundred people to be maintained at sea for so long a term, shows neither

timidity nor inexperience in the art of navigation. It is wholly gratuitous, therefore, to dispute the claims of the Hindús to be considered as engaging in maritime commerce from early times. The well-known passage of Manu respecting marine insurance was not inserted without meaning; and although the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana are silent, having no occasion to refer to the subject, yet in other writings, in poems, tales, and plays, dating from the first century before, to the twelfth century after our era, adventures at sea are detailed, in which Indian sailors and ships alone are concerned. Fa Hian's testimony places the point beyond dispute.

We have thus accompanied the Chinese pilgrim through a protracted route, and although we cannot but wish that he had employed his opportunities to better purpose, yet we are indebted to him for interesting and valuable information.

We find the names of things and places throughout India, Sanskrit, and events and legends specified, or alluded to, evidently derived from Sanskrit writings. We find the Pali language, the immediate offspring of Sanskrit, studied from Khoten to Ceylon, and Budhist works studied over the same tract, some of which no doubt continue at the present day to be the chief authorities of Budhism whatever it prevails. With regard to the Budhist religion, we find it flourishing on the borders of the Great Desert,—prosperous on the upper course of the Indus, on either bank,—declining in the Punjáb,—and in a languid state, although existing, on the Jumna and Ganges. In its most sacred seats, east of the latter river, the birthplace of Sákya, and scene of his early career, it had fallen into irreparable decay, and its monuments were crumbling into those mounds of rubbish which are still found in Gorack-pore and Tirhut, although a few columns then standing are yet erect. Even in Magadha, or Behar, it had fallen off, and Budha Gaya was deserted, although some monasteries remained where Budhist books were preserved. We may infer from the rapidity of Fa Hian's journey eastward, that the faith of Budha was in no very prosperous condition along the Ganges until we come to Tamalipti; there we find both Budhism and commerce flourishing, although neither has left, as far as we yet know, the slightest traces there of its past existence. In Ceylon, Budhism triumphed, as we should have expected it to do from the tradition and annals of the island, whose veracity is thus most satisfactorily confirmed; and, finally, in Java, where it presently after rose into prosperity, it was unknown.

The political information afforded by Fa Hian's travels is less

particular than the literary and religious; but he confirms the occupation of the country on the northwest of the Indus, and their encroachments on the Panjáb, by the Yu-chi, or Scythians, at a period which even he calls ancient; and he shows that many of the political divisions, of which we have intimations in the Rámáyana, Mahábhárata, Puránas and other works, such as the principalities of Kanya-Kubja, Srávasti, Kosala, Vaisáli, Magadha, Champa, Tamralipti, were then in existence, thus bearing unquestionable testimony to the authority of the accounts which we have of them, and to their being antecedent to the fourth century at the latest, giving us in future that date as a fixed point from which to reckon in all discussions respecting the antiquity of the language, the literature, and the history of the Hindús.

Art. III. *Illustrations of men and things in China; mode of burning lime; passion for autographs; a beggar.* From a private note-book.

Mode of burning lime. In this part of the country, lime is obtained from the animal kingdom, and fossil shells furnish almost the whole of that which is used. It would appear that the Chinese do not know that there is lime in limestone; in those regions where that rock occurs, the people may burn it for lime, but if so I have never heard the fact stated. The shells are dredged by boats occupied solely in this business, and the number of boats thus employed, (safely estimated by hundreds,) and the many years they have been engaged, indicate that there are immense beds of these fossils in the shallows of the delta of the Pearl river. The traveler, as he passes up the Inner Passage from Macao, can hardly avoid observing numerous boats anchored not far from the shore, filled with men, women, and children, who are industriously dredging with scoops attached to long poles; and in the hold of the boat he will see shells covered with a blue marly mud. The Chinese say that they are thus procured almost everywhere in the shallows between the Bogue and Macao, and they probably would be found elsewhere, if the people possessed means to get them up from the deep water.

The mode of calcination is a good instance of the economy of this people. A circular piece of ground is marked out, ten feet or more

in diameter, and inclosed by a stone wall three feet high. In the middle, which is lower than the sides, a fire-place is built, connected with the outside by a draft which is under ground; a fly-wheel is hung at the outside just at the mouth of the pipe, to answer instead of a bellows, and so contrived with a trendle that a man can keep up a constant blast with his feet. Such is the kiln. The fire-wood, being placed like a pyramid over the central fire-place, is kindled, and clean dry shells laid on it; as it burns, the fire catches the wood placed around the sides of the kiln, upon which shells are the while being loosely laid. A man paddles hard at the fly-wheel to keep the fire up, and the others pile on the shells, until the kiln is heaped full. The blast is kept up until the whole mass is fully ignited, and the shells perfectly calcined, which requires about eleven hours. To complete the economical part of the operation, a part which indeed could hardly occur anywhere but in China, one must see the triple row of pots and kettles cooking by the heat of the kiln. The whole neighborhood improve the occasion, (after the fire has gone down, and the shells converted into a mass of glowing embers,) to bring their pots of rice and kettles of water to cook and boil them in the ashes. The merriment of the barefooted youngsters, whom their grandams have left to watch the dinner, hopping around the hot kiln, or the old women hobbling up to the fire, on their substitutes for feet, present a very characteristic Chinese scene. By the next morning, the kiln has become cooled, and the lime is emptied into baskets, amounting to seventy or more peculs, burned by about ten peculs of coal and wood. It is afterwards pounded and sifted for sale.

Passion for autographs. Observing that many copies of the edicts promulgated under the seals of the 'high imperial commissioner, and great minister,' as our worthy governor Lin's grandiloquent title used to run, had the stamp of his seal cut out soon after they were pasted up in the streets, I learned on inquiry that they had been thus taken out by curious collectors of seals and autographs. The seals of the governor and fooyuen were also in some instances cut out; their dimensions were about 3 *in.* long by 2½ *in.* broad. The passion for collecting the autographs of distinguished men is very common among the Chinese. Those who are desirous to procure a good one will provide a pair of scrolls of fancy paper, and request the person to write an elegant quotation or antithetical couplet, which being signed and sealed in a corner of the paper, are hung up in the hall of the house. To the writers of autographs of this sort, I have known ten dollars to have been paid in money and presents, and have heard of

one hundred dollars being paid to a Hanlin for a single scroll. Fans are, however, the most common mode of preserving these souvenirs. The person wishing the autograph buys a plain fan, and when written, signed, and sealed, he lays it up among his curiosities.

A beggar. Who, that has lived in Macao within the last ten years, does not remember the old blind beggar, who used to stand under the bamboos, by the wayside leading across the Campo to Cassilha's bay? It was his habit to take his station there about the time that foreigners walked abroad in the afternoon, but during the morning he was usually seen in the street near the Portuguese custom-house. The old man was easily recognized wherever he was met; and once seen was not soon forgotten. He was, in truth, a patriarch of mendicants; a beggar in every particular. His clapdish and rod, his broad umbrella-like hat, and his rags, were the 'graceful insignia' of his profession, integral parts of his character. And then, who could behold his imploring countenance,—it was one of conscious beggary—his flowing gray beard, his bald head (not a shaven one), his furrowed face, begrimed by poverty and sorrow, and last of all his eyeless sockets, looking upwards as if supplicating compassion from every eye that could see them,—who could behold all these, and not pity the poor old man? His stooping gait and insecure step, as if a grasshopper would be a burden, watching every intimation of the nature of the path by the rap of his rod, were also in perfect keeping with his face and his dress, so that altogether, no one could harmonize better with all one's ideas of a beggar than did this old man.

He told me (for I used often to stop and talk with him) he had stood by that same stone post for sixteen years, there asking an alms. Sometimes his luck was good, and sometimes for days and days, he said he could get nothing. He was once a stone-cutter, and lost his sight from a splinter; and trouble coming upon him about the same time in his family, his wife and children dying, he was reduced (no great descent for a poor Chinese) to beggary. He had only one little granddaughter, who took care of him as well as she could, and I remember once seeing her hand him his bowl of rice with much kindness. What led me to mention him at this time, is, that after so many years of penury and sorrow, he has at last gone down to the grave, like thousands and millions of his mendicant countrymen probably unpitied and unwept by every one, except, in this instance perhaps, by his little granddaughter.

Art. IV. *Notices of Japan, No. II. Nagasaki and its environs; visits of the Dutch thither; periodical journey to Yedo.*

It has been said, that the Dutch cannot pass either of the gates of Dezima without the express permission of the governor. This permission is, indeed, seldom, if ever, refused, but it is clogged with conditions that prevent its being indiscreetly solicited. When any member of the factory wishes to obtain a little recreation or relief from the monotony of his seclusion at Dezima, he causes a petition, soliciting liberty to take a walk in Nagasaki and its environs, to be presented, four-and-twenty hours beforehand, to the governor, through the intervention of the proper interpreter. Leave is granted, provided the captive be accompanied by *banyoos* as also by the *comprador*, whose business it is, upon the occasion, to defray whatever expenses or purchases the indulged foreigner may incur during the trip of pleasure. All these individuals are again attended by their several domestics, until the followers amount to twenty-five or thirty persons.

So cumbersome a train might seem in itself a sufficient drawback on the enjoyment of a ramble, especially when it is added, that all the boys within reach assemble and pursue the party wherever they go, incessantly shouting, *Holanda! Holanda!* or *Horanda! Horanda!* which appears to be the more usual pronunciation of the Japanese. But even so, the train is far from its complement. Every official attendant holds himself entitled to invite as many of his friends as he pleases to join the party, the whole of which the temporarily liberated Dutchman is bound to entertain. Nor can the heavy expense, thus rendered inseparable from every excursion, be lightened by partnership; as, in case of two members of the factory obtaining a joint permission for a stroll, the number of attendants is doubled.

The usual objects of these excursions are to explore the neighboring country, to banquet in a temple, to ramble through the streets of Nagasaki, or to visit its tea-houses. Each of these demands a few words, and it may be best to begin with the town itself, through which, whatever be the excursion designed, the rambler must pass. Nagasaki spreads up the side of a hill: like every Japanese town, it is regularly built, and, as every house has its garden, large or small, offers a pleasing *coup d' œil.* The houses are low, none containing more than one good story, to which is added in some a sort of cockloft, in others a low basement. The height of the street-front, and even the number of windows, are determined by law. All are constructed of wood, and a mixture of clay and chopped straw; but the walls are coated with a cement, that gives them the appearance of stone. In the windows, very fine and strong paper, unoiled, and protected from bad weather by external wooden shutters, supplies the place of glass. The windows to the street are further provided with Venetian blinds, and every house is encircled by a verandah, into which all the rooms open.

The front of the better class of houses is occupied by a large portico and entrance, where the sedans, umbrellas, and sandals of visitors are left, where servants and persons on business wait, &c.; and which is connected with all the domestic offices. The back of the house is the part inhabited by the family, and it projects into the garden triangularly, for the benefit of more light and cheerfulness. These gardens, however diminutive, are always laid out in the landscape-

garden style, with rocks, mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trees, and uniformly contain a family chapel, or oratory. Absurd as these would be pleasure-grounds may seem, when confined in extent, as must be the garden even of a wealthy householder in the heart of a city, this intermixture of verdure, nevertheless, contributes greatly to the airiness and gay aspect of the town itself. And we are told that the very smallest habitations possess similar gardens, yet more in miniature, sometimes consisting of what may be called the mere corners cut off from the triangular back of the house, with the trees in flower-pots.*

But the most remarkable part of Japanese houses is the provision against fire. To each belongs a detached store-room, or warehouse, such as those which Siebold mistook at a distance for the mansions of nobility. In these, tradesmen keep their stock of goods, and private families their most valuable effects, as pictures, books, collections of rarities, &c. These store-rooms are built of the same materials as the houses; but the whole woodwork, doors and roof included, is covered with a coating of clay a foot thick; the apertures for windows are closed with copper shutters; and for further security, a large vessel of liquid mud is always at hand, with which to smear over every part of the building in case of danger; that is to say, in case one of the conflagrations for ever occurring amidst such combustible houses should break out in the neighborhood, or the wind drive the sparks and flames of a distant fire in a menacing direction. These fire-proof store-rooms answer their purpose so well, that president Doeff, in describing a conflagration, which spread so near to the bridge between Nagasaki and Dezima, that the governor allowed the scared inhabitants general egress by the water-gate, and which consumed eleven whole streets of Nagasaki, partially destroying others, explicitly states that not one of the store-rooms was injured. Neither did Dezima suffer; the flames having at length been extinguished, before they crossed the bridge. But to return to the excursion of the Dutchmen.†

* [So far as our information extends, derived both from drawings as well as from natives, we are led to believe that the Japanese usually follow their own inclinations in building their houses, making them of such shapes and dimensions as will best suit the purposes for which they design them. In markets and public thoroughfares, where the space is valuable, the shops are built close to each other, without any gardens either in the rear or on the side. The blocks of buildings in towns are often constructed somewhat in the manner of a hollow square, the interior open space being occupied with trees, flowers, gardens, &c., belonging to some one or more of the houses in the block, and forming, not only a refreshing variety, but an inlet for the entrance of light and air into the back part of every dwelling. The part of the house opening into the central area is not always triangular, nor any other uniform shape.]

† [There are two kinds of these storehouses, the *kura*, or common storehouse, and the *dozoö* or *ana-gura*, an ancient kind of mattamore or souterain, that is at present, it would appear, disused. The *kura* vary in their size and uses; grain, money, books, clothes, &c., being usually stored in different buildings. The walls are much thicker than those of dwelling-houses; large joists form the framework, then bricks, stone, and lastly, a mixture of lime and clay, are used to fill in and complete the walls. The roof is tiled; and the interior divided into an upper and lower story by a floor. A bucket of liquid bean-curd, or of mud, is always kept just within the door to smear over the part most endangered by the fire. Although they do not often catch fire, the contents are sometimes destroyed, or very much injured, by the surrounding heat igniting the woodwork inside. The *kura* are not built as high as dwelling-houses, and the few apertures in their thick walls for windows or doors are not so large as to weaken them; consequently, earthquakes do much less injury to them than might other

When the town is passed, the promenader comes upon exquisitely beautiful scenery, commanding, from innumerable different points, the most enchanting views over hill and dale, land and sea. Nay, so bewitching are the various prospects which successively greet the eye in the course of every ramble said to be, that the spectator, we are assured, entranced in their contemplation, entirely forgets every drawback upon their enjoyment. And this is an indulgence that the Japanese are the more prompt to grant their guests, because they themselves fully sympathize in its delights, being passionate lovers of beautiful country and fine prospects.

A striking and somewhat peculiar mark of this prevalent taste is, that the most lovely sites are invariably selected for the temples. Of these temples, there are sixty-one within a short distance from Nagasaki, built as plainly and as destitute of ornament as the houses; and like them, encircled by a verandah, and often having many smaller temples, like chapels, surrounding the principal edifice. The whole, or the large temple, is called by Siebold, a *yasiro;* the smaller chapel-temples, *miya.* Every *yasiro* stands upon a hill, commands a fine view, and is enclosed in a garden. These gardens are the habitual resort of parties of pleasure, whether Japanese or Dutch; and, for the further enjoyment of their picturesque attractions, to almost all temples are attached large rooms, unconnected, apparently, with the service of the divinity there worshiped. In these apartments, in places destitute of inns, travelers are accommodated, and the priests usually let them out as banqueting-rooms; nay, even as the theatre of such orgies as seem most desecrating to any edifice connected, however remotely, with purposes of religion.*

When a member of the factory indulges in excursion, the whole party collected by his official companions must be feasted at his expense at one of these temples. He himself, however, is not always required to do the honors of his banquet, which thus affords a short interval of comparative liberty. Whilst the police-officers are reveling with their friends on the good things the foreigner in their custody has provided for them, they are content to connive at his *naïbon* transgression of the rigid laws of seclusion and separation. Thus, at such an opportunity, and only such, can a member of the factory ramble about with a single

wise be expected. The treasure storehouses are made stronger, and guarded more carefully, than those containing grain or goods. We are told that one mode of safeguard among others is to build an external wall a little distance from the main one, or else to make the wall hollow, and fill the cavity with sand; the thief, when he has made a hole in the wall, finds it constantly obstructed by the falling sand]

* [The word *miya* is applied to the chapels and temples of the *Sintoo* or *Shiyanin;* a *tera* is a Budhist temple. The premises of a *miya* are called *yasiro;* those of a *tera* are termed *tera-yasiki* We think Siebold must have intended by this term, the premises surrounding the temple, rather than the dwelling itself from inquiries made of one who has often, he says, accompanied the liberated Dutchmen in their excursions. He states that the tea-houses, or *chà-ya,* often adjoin the *yasiro,* but are not within them. Our informants add, that except on festival days, the temples are not usually let out for feasting; travelers are, however, sometimes accommodated in them, and especially traveling priests. The priests of Sintoo are married, and do not live in their *miya,* nor do the Budhist priests always reside in their temples. From all that we can ascertain, we suspect that the instances of the temples of either sect being used as "theatres of desecrating orgies" are very rare, and form exceptions to the usual regulations]

interpreter, enter the shops, and make purchases at his own pleasure. Upon other occasions, the resort of the Dutchman and his whole party is to a tea-house—a licensed place of entertainment for drinking and music. But these are not the only purposes of the tea-houses; and here it again becomes necessary to advert to a subject which it is revolting to every correct feeling, and almost a violation of self-respect, even to allude to; but some points of which are so extraordinary, so completely peculiar to the Japanese, that to pass them over in silence would be to omit one striking feature of this very singular nation.

The proprietors of these tea-houses are further licensed to purchase female infants of indigent parents for purposes of infamy. These girls act during their childhood as the servants of the full-grown inmates, but are, at the same time, educated with the utmost care; they are not only rendered skillful in every accomplishment that can enhance the effect of their personal charms, but their minds are sedulously cultivated, and enriched with all the stores of knowledge that can make their conversation attractive and agreeable. Thus, the whole body of these victims of the vices of others bear considerable resemblance to the few celebrated individuals amongst the courtesans of ancient Greece; and the resemblance holds good in another point, the consequence of the first. As we are told that Athenian husbands took their wives into the society of the notorious Aspasia, to share in the instruction they themselves derived from her; so in Japan do husbands invite their wives to join their party to the tea-houses, there to partake of the amusement afforded by the music, singing, and conversation of their accomplished, but unfortunate and dishonored, sisters.

But the most extraordinary part of the whole is, the position in the moral scale assigned to these degraded women by the Japanese, who are, in the general relations of life, to the full as tenacious of female purity as the nations by whom wives and daughters are kept under lock and key. Whilst their worthless purchasers, those shameless speculators in human depravity, the tea-house proprietors, are universally despised as the very scum of the earth, far more lenient is the appreciation of the purchased thralls, who may, indeed, be held guiltless of their own pollution, being destined to a temporary career of sin without their own concurrence: a temporay career only, however, inasmuch as these girls are purchased for a term of years, and may be considered rather as apprentices than slaves for life. When the period for which they are bound to their disgraceful trade expires, they may return to their families, and are received into society in any station of which they show themselves worthy. Many enter the order, as it may be called, of Mendicant Nuns; but numbers are said to find husbands, and to emulate all the good qualities of the most immaculate Japanese wives and mothers. But whatever be the new condition of these ex-courtesans, it is solely by their conduct in the character of their choice that they are thenceforward judged, without any reference to their past, compelled occupation. The number of tea-houses appears to be beyond all conception. The Dutch writers state that at Nagasaki, a town with a population of from sixty to seventy thousand souls, there are no less than 750; and that, upon the road to Yedo, the inns, almost invariably, either are houses of this description, or have such attached to them. It is from these houses that the Dutch factory procures its female servants or companions.

But to dismiss this painful topic, and return to the rambles of the Dutch. Their walk, and the amusements abovementioned, must terminate with the day,

and sunset find them again in Dezima; a necessity from which no indulgence seems ever to exempt them; and, indeed, it may be concluded, from the various statements respecting ingress, that the gates of the island are never, upon any occasion, opened during the hours of the night, *i. e.* between sunset and sunrise. An especial petition must be presented if a Dutchman wishes to visit a Japanese acquaintanse, or is invited by any inhabitant of Nagasaki to partake of his hospitality, the ordinary permission to take a walk not sanctioning the foreigner's setting his foot in a private house. A similar form is necessary when the object is to witness any particular show or ceremony; and such petitions appear to be almost always granted, although upon one occasion a secret, or, according to the established Japanese practice, *naïbon*, view is spoken of.

Of the public sights that diversify the few amusements of the factory, the various and numerous religious festivals seem to be the principal; and of these the festival of the god Suwa, the patron *kami*, or deity of Nagasaki, seems the most remarkable. This local festival, which is the more brilliant from chancing to coincide in point of time with one of the annual religious festivals common to the whole realm, is of some days' duration, and begins, as might be expected, by devotional rites in the temple dedicated to Suwa. This temple, which is decorated with flags for the occasion, every body visits in the dress of ceremony, prays, and makes the usual offering, greater or smaller, according to their means and rank, but always including a cup of *sake*. The public solemnity consists in placing the image of the god, together with the most precious ornaments of the temple—of which, costly arms form an important part—in a shrine, magnificently gilt and lackered; which is then borne by servants of the temple in procession through the town, attended by the chief priests in palanquins or on horseback, and by a body of horsemen, deputed by the governor to honor the ceremony. Shrine, image, and treasures, are finally deposited in a straw hut, erected for the occasion in a large square, or clear space in the city; and here they remain as a public exhibition, the hut being open in front, although partially encircled with screens: and with this concludes, it would seem, the religious part of the festival. Sports and scenic representations follow, the expense of which is defrayed in different years by the different streets and districts, or what we should call the wards, of the town. The rivalry of these different districts is most keen, with regard both to the costliness and splendor of the shows, and to the diligence and skill with which the children of the inhabitants, from seven to fourteen years of age, are trained to perform parts in the spectacle. Every district appears to send forth a train, or shall we say lay procession, of its own, to which every street contributes two or three juvenile, though practiced, performers; and the course and performances of these several trains are thus described by an eye-witness, Fischer:

"First goes a monstrous, shapeless bulk of linen, fastened to a hoop, from which it hangs down to the ground. Of the man who carries it upon a bamboo, nothing can be seen but his feet, and mighty is the load he bears; first, in the magnitude of the embroidered cloth itself, comprising not less than twelve ells; and further, in the ornaments that decorate the upper part of this grand pageant. For these ornaments, emblematic objects are selected, such as birds or beasts that are especially esteemed, some renowned man or celebrated woman, a forest covered with snow, the instruments of some trade, or something that alludes to the prosperity of the country, or even of the single street, on that recalls the fame or the

simplicity of the early Japanese. Next follow the musicians in great numbers, playing upon drums, cymbals, and flutes, strangely attired, headed by their *ottona*, the chief local municipal officer, and accompanied by a number of servants belonging to the street. Then appears a train of children, representing some expedition of one of their *mikado*, or demi-gods. This part of the show really merits admiration; clad and armed in the correct costume of the time, the leaders proceed in the utmost state, followed by the representatives of the whole court, male and female, displaying all the pomp and luxury of a Japanese court and surpassing every conceivable idea of dainty nicety. Each of the trains is attended by a number of small palanquins and servants, to take up any of the children who may be fatigued. After these comes a company of actors: in an instant, two or three benches of equal size are placed side by side; upon them, a few screens and decorations; and, to the sound of *samishen* (a sort of three stringed guitars), drums, and other musical instruments, the actors perform their play, which does not occupy more than a quarter of an hour, but is represented with great spirit and freedom, as well in language as in gesture and feeling. When this is over, a crowd of musicians, palanquins, servants and family connections of the children, follow, who close this train, and, moving forward, make way for the next.

"The first representation takes place before the already-mentioned straw hut, in honor of the god Suwa, and all round the square sit a crowd of spectators, amongst whom especial and separate scaffoldings are assigned to the members of government and the Hollanders, in order that they may assist at this festival. The representations take place at several appointed parts of the town; and the eleven or twelve trains always follow each other so regularly, that nothing like disorder occurs, notwithstanding the immense multitudes of people who attend this festival.

"When the first train presents itself, at seven o'clock in the morning, it is usually noon before the last performs (at the straw hut, apparently); and until a late hour in the evening, these same trains are met in different quarters of the town, so that it may be supposed that the strength and powers of the children are severely tried. The festival lasts many days, but the 9th and 11th of the month (*i. e.* the first and third of the festival) are the most solemn, putting a stop to all business. The poorest artisan then appears as a gentleman, clad in his dress of ceremony; and all the houses are adorned, internally with carpets and screens, externally with hangings and awnings, under which friends entertain each other, making merry all day long, with eating, drinking, and music. Every street has to contribute to this expensive festival once in about five or six years, and it is inconceivable how the great waste is supported, as only a few trifling articles are ever used a second time, whilst everything for dress and decorations is purchased new, and of the best materials. Thus was this religious solemnity, like every other in Japan, celebrated with universal demonstrations of joy, yet with such unanimity, mutual forbearance, delight, and order, that one may well agree with the Japanese as to the impossibility of honoring or serving the gods more agreeably; and I may add, that so many and such various peculiarities belong to this *matsuri* [or municipal] festival, as render a detailed and accurate description incompatible with the designed conciseness of this work."

This, if it be the principal religious festival at Nagasaki, is by no means the only one calculated to relieve the tedium of life at Dezima. There are many

others, and some whimsical in form and character; and of one of the exhibitions, it is hard to say whether it seems meant as a religious ceremony or merely as an amusement. The former notion is, however, the most probable, from the circumstance of its being an annual festival, held throughout the empire, in the same style as it is witnessed by the Dutch at Nagasaki. President Meylan says:

"I know not whether it be to do the devil honor or to jeer at him, that the Japanese, in their eighth month, take pleasure in contemplating a grotesque dance, performed in the streets by persons attired as demons, and duly horned and vizarded. They have, besides, a drum hung about them, or are armed with a stick, with which, beating the drum, they make a prodigious noise, and mark the measure for their dance; but what most deserves mention is, that their dresses are of various colors—to wit, black, white, red, and green. It is well known that white men represent the devil as black, while the negroes make theirs white; but red and green devils are, I believe, wholly and solely Japanese. I long sought their reasons for these colors, and at length obtained the following explanation. Amongst the unlucky theological disputes that disturb all lands, one arose in Japan concerning the color of the devil; one party affirming it to be black, a second white, a third red, and finally, a fourth declared that the fiendish hue was green. This difference of opinion seemed likely to produce a civil war, when the judicious idea was started of submitting the question to the spiritual emperor. The Son of Heaven, after a short deliberation, prevented the threatening evil, by declaring all parties to be in the right, and sanctioning the belief in devils indiscriminately black, white, red, and green. Since that time, the Japanese devils have adopted the four colors; and thus tinted, dance once a year up and down the streets, to the great delight of the curious spectators, who, whilst they look on, no longer dream of menacing disputes."

Of the other religious festivals, it may suffice to say that, besides others, in every month there are two, somewhat analagous to our Sunday; that the grandest annual festival is new-year's day, preceded by the imperative payment of every debt on new-year's eve; that the prettiest is one in which lighted lanterns are launched at night upon the bay, to ascertain, by their fate, the destiny of the souls of deceased relatives and friends; the queerest one, in which men, holding high official situations, and of advanced years, busy themselves in flying kites, the strings of which are covered with broken glass, and wherein great interest is attached to the cutting the string of a rival's kite; and the most absurd, one in which the foul fiend is simultaneously expelled from every house, by dint of pelting him with broiled peas, according to Meylan; with stones, according to Fischer.

It has been stated, that the Nagasaki shows can sometimes be seen only underhand by the strangers of the factory. Of the show which we are told was thus beheld, it is not easy to say whether it were civil or military. It was called a hunting procession of the governor's, but Fischer considers it rather as a sort of review; and if his excellency were indeed, only bent on the chace, his equipage might well be termed a hunting procession, or a state hunting, either of which versions the Dutch expression will bear. And either as a hunting party or a military evolution, it is so original as well in its composition as in the sort of mystery purposely attached to it, and in both so characteristic of Japan, as to be worth extracting, notwithstanding the inevitable dryness of a processional *programme*. He says,

"We were permitted privately to see the train pass through Nagasaki. Such expeditions take place from time to time at Yedo, and probably at other towns of the empire, as well as at Nagasaki. They are called state-huntings, but I have grounds for rather calling them military inspections, inasmuch as the whole train were in warlike equipment, and besides the weapons used in the chace, a number of men had heavy guns, likewise badges of distinction, as though they were taking the field. It was an awe-inspiring scene; every one sympathized therein even whilst satisfying his curiosity, but the majority gazed in silent respect, by which means the march proceeded with the utmost order. The streets and roads were neatly swept; scarcely any one was seen in the street, and every body lurked peeping behind the blinds, or the flags and hangings that decorated the houses. When the approach of the procession was announced, a general earnest charge was given to refrain from laughter, and from any demonstration that could create disturbance, or betray a want of respect. First, walked four men with brooms, such as always precede the retinue of a great lord, in order to admonish the people with cries of '*Staye! staye!*' which means, 'Sit, or bow you down.' Their brooms are to clear away loose stones, or anything else that might obstruct the march. The van was led by eight huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, all wearing flat lackered hats, a short upper garment of green calico, with a coat-of-arms on the breast, and a sash of brownish ribbon, wide trowsers, sandals bound to the feet, and a single short sword; a *gobanyosi*, being one of the governor's council or clerks, dressed like the preceding, only in silk, and having two swords. He is followed by three servants in succession, carrying, the first a pike, the second two chests of clothes, the third two baskets of rain-proof cloaks; three servants, each wearing two swords; five under police-officers, with two swords each; nine *ottona*, or municipal superintendents of districts, walking three and three, dressed in silk with flat lackered hats, and each two swords; eighteen of their attendants, in colored linen, with flat straw hats; seventy-two huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in couples, not following each other closely, but at intervals of six feet; the bailiff of a neighboring village, towards which the march led, in the usual dress of ceremony; five servants; ten huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in green linen upper dresses and brown lackered hats, leading four hounds by white cords; two directors of the imperial rice-granaries, in brown silk upper garments and black lackered hats, each wearing two swords; six servants of theirs, simply armed with swords; the commandant of the town-guard, magnificently attired, sitting on a horse, which two servants led by the bridle (the usual mode of riding in Japan); six huntsmen with metallic blunderbusses; the commandant's son; a man carrying a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 *lbs*. Dutch weight, which the commandant is wont to hurl with a steady hand. I have since had an opportunity of examining this weapon closely, and found this to be no fable; the officer in question attained his present rank in consequence of his extraordinary bodily strength. Then followed ten huntsmen, with blunderbusses of extraordinary size all nicely kept, and carried in stately guise, each by two men; fifteen men with common blunderbusses; twenty-four men with large blunderbusses, followed by twelve servants. A short interval divided these from a banner-bearer, preceding the burgomaster Takasima Sirobe sama, also commissioner of the imperial treasury, on horseback, in an upper robe of gold stuff, and a brown lackered hat, with golden arms, his horse led by two foot soldiers, and followed by ten servants; a man bearing a long pike, its steel

head encased in a beautifully lackered sheath; an embroidered flag; six huntsmen with blunderbusses; the burgomaster Yaksizi Knizayemon sama, on horseback; two servants; the said burgomaster's son; four huntsmen with beautiful bows and arrows; six servants, armed only with swords; the son of burgomaster Seyemon sama; two huntsmen with bows and arrows; twenty-seven huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; eight servants with swords; a *gobanyosi*, or privy counselor of the governor; four servants; a pike bearer; a servant with two lackered clothes-chests; a servant with two rain-cloak baskets; thirty huntsmen, all under police-officers, with matchlocks and lighted matches; six personal servants of the governor, each armed with two swords; a flag, embroidered with gold letters on a white ground; ten servants, each bearing a long pike, adorned with a lackered sheath and silk tassels; forty-eight officials and servants, dressed in silk or linen, each having two swords; eight servants with clothes-boxes; four ditto with ditto, of fine basket-work; two cases of armor, square cabinets, with magnificent covers, embroidered in gold, each case carried by two men; two magnificently lackered sword-cases, adorned in the like beautiful style, and each carried by one man; a *chabento*, or tea-equipage, consisting of two cases hanging on the opposite ends of a pole, the one containing fire and a kettle of hot water, the other the remaining requisites for drinking tea at any moment; two men carrying a lackered pail, water-scoop, and halter, all for the governor's horse; a saddle-horse with beautiful trappings, led by two foot soldiers; fourteen servants, each with two swords; eight servants with rain-cloak baskets; six servants, each with clothes-boxes; three servants, each with two swords; the *gokaro*, or governor's secretary, on horseback; four bearers, each with two clothes-chests; four ditto, with two rain-cloak baskets; six servants, each with two swords; four ditto, with long pikes; an ornament with feathers, like the governor's, but less costly (to be presently described); the burgomaster Fizamats Kifye sama, on horseback; two huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; a pike-bearer; two rain-cloak basket-bearers; the governor's palanquin, carried by two men, six other bearers running on either side, all stout, bold men, dressed in blue linen, each a sword by his side, and a colored fan stuck in his girdle at his back; twenty-seven huntsmen with bows and arrows; a *gobanyosi*, or clerk of the governor; five servants, each with two swords; a pike-bearer; a clothes-chest bearer; a rain-cloak basket bearer; ten huntsmen, armed; three ditto, with blunderbusses; three ditto, with hunting horns; one ditto, with a great drum, beautifully lackered, gilt, and adorned with silk tassels; a civil officer with two swords; a *gobanyosi*, as before; five servants with swords; a pike bearer, a clothes-chest bearer, as before; two rain-cloak basket bearers; an ornament, or mark of distinction, shaped like a broom, with beautiful feathers, and a flag of white cloth, embroidered with gold cyphers, attached to it; two long pikes, with sheaths of embroidered red cloth, hung with silk tassels; a state bow, in a yellow silk case; two long pikes, magnificently adorned, like the preceding; a banner with gold letters on a red ground; a *gobanyosi*, or cabinet secretary to the governor. An interval of some paces, then the governor of Nagasaki, Mamya Chikuzen no cami sama, riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, with two foot soldiers on either side: he was magnificently dressed in a garment of gold and silver cloth, on his head a lackered helmet that glittered with silver edges, and a coat-of-arms in gold: he wore two swords, and his staff of office stuck in his girdle at his back: his deportment, like that of his whole retinue, was grave and haughty, and, above all, so profound a stillness

now prevailed, that one might rather have supposed ones-self in an uninhabited street, than in a place where so many thousands of spectators were congregated. the governor's banner, with gold letters embroidered on a blue ground; five pike-bearers; eleven servants, each wearing two swords; fourteen huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; the treasurer, Takaki Sakyemou, on horseback, and expensively attired; two servants next the horse; the treasurer's son on horseback; twelve servants. each with two swords; a considerable train of servants, carrying clothes-chests and other necessaries, all in regular order. And this is the train of a governor of Nagasaki, who, although invested there with supreme authority, at Yedo, at the emperor's court, hardly enjoys the honor of carrying his majesty's slippers."

These various shows seem pretty nearly to exhaust all that can be said of the recreations permitted to the Dezima Dutch at Nagasaki, unless the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, that occasionally vary the monotony of their existence, be reckoned as such.* The former, indeed, though general and frequent throughout the empire, and causing quite sufficient damage in both town and island—as, for instance, in the year 1825 when Dezima suffered materially—seldom appear to engage the thoughts of the Europeans, if they are not combined with volcanic eruptions. They afford, nevertheless, the grounds alleged for the restrictions imposed upon the architectural taste of the Japanese, with respect to both the height and solidity of their buildings. Volcanic eruptions—and the formation of the islands is generally volcanic; the number of volcanos, extinct or active, considerable—appear to be, in their estimation, more important. So recently as the year 1792, a new volcano manifested its formidable character in the island of Kiusiu. The first eruption, or rather series of eruptions and earthquakes, of this mountain, named the Unzen, spread terror and desolation around; and, according to the description given of its terrific display of volcanic nature, by Siebold, might well fill every bosom with dread.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of the first month, the summit of the Unzen suddenly sank, and smoke and vapor burst forth. On the 6th of the following month, an eruption occurred in the Biwa no Kubi mountain, situate on its eastern declivity, not far from the summit. On the 2d of the third month, a violent earthquake, felt all over Kiusiu, so shook Simabara, that no one could

* [We add here a few particulars concerning the Chinese factory at Nagasaki. The Chinese are allowed much more liberty than the Dutch, walking through the streets of the town at their own convenience, and as individuals carrying on a petty trade in some articles. They are under the control of four Chinese *capitans* or headmen, who also manage the trade of the junks as they arrive. The trade with the Chinese is, like that of the Dutch, an imperial perquisite. The usual number of Chinese residents is about one hundred, who all reside within the walls of their inclosure, which is commonly called *To jin yasiki*, or the premises of the Chinese. M. Titsingh has given a plan of the place copied from a Japanese drawing. It is divided by narrow streets into twelve blocks of buildings, and may contain in all 150 houses; about 75 of which are storehouses. The number of junks is about seven, which make two voyages annually, bringing medicines, broadcloths, and other woolen fabrics, and other articles, and carrying away biche-de-mer, copper, lackered-ware, &c. Interpreters, custom-house officers, door-keepers, &c., are similarly appointed by the governor to the Chinese factory, as they are to the Dutch, but much less oversight is exercised over the everyday movements of the former; we are told that Chinese beggars are met with in the streets of Nagasaki. The Chinese perform no journey to Yedo, nor is the time of the departure of their junks fixed by law.]

keep his feet. Terror and confusion reigned. Shock followed shock, and the volcano incessantly vomited stones, ashes, and lava, that desolated the country for miles around. At noon on the 1st of the fourth month, another earthquake occurred, followed by reiterated shocks more and more violent. Houses were overthrown, and enormous masses of rock, rolling down from the mountain, crushed whatever lay in their way. When all seemed quiet and the danger was believed to be over, sounds, like the roar of artillery, were heard in the air and underground, followed by a sudden eruption of the Miyoken yama, on the northern slope of the Unzen dake. A large part of this mountain was thrown up into the air, immense masses of rock fell into the sea, and boiling water, bursting through the crevices of the exploded mountain, poured down, overflowing the low shore. The meeting of the two waters produced a phenomenon that increased the general terror. The whirling eddies formed water-spouts, that annihilated all they passed over. The devastation wrought in the peninsula of Simabara, and the opposite coast of Figo, by these united earthquakes and eruptions of the Unzen dake, with its collateral craters, is said to be indescribable. In the town of Simabara, every building was thrown down except the castle, of which the cyclopean walls, formed of colossal blocks of stone, defied the general destruction. The coast of Figo was so altered by the ravages, as to be no longer recognizable. Fifty-three thousand human beings are said to have perished on this occasion."

This formidable mountain is apparently within two days' journey of Dezima and Nagasaki, though nothing is said of material ravages wrought there at the time in question; and it must be supposed to have remained since the year 1792 in a state of moderate action, if not of complete quiescence, or some of the Dutch residents would assuredly have spoken of the alarm excited by its terrors.*

JOURNEY TO YEDO.

To offer homage and presents, or tribute, annually to the *siogoun*, or military chief of the empire, at Yedo, his habitual residence and the actual seat of government, is, if not the highest duty of every prince, dignitary, and noble throughout the Japanese realm, certainly an act, the neglect of which would be deemed most unpardonable; and it was as a sort of dignitary—being the governor of his own countrymen resident in Japan—that this duty was imposed upon the head of the Dutch factory, when the charter, permitting them to establish a factory, was first granted. This charter, obtained from the successful usurper, Gongen sama, whilst they were settled at Firado, gave them as before intimated, great privileges, which they afterwards forfeited by their ignorance of Japanese laws and customs. Upon Gongen sama's death, they petitioned his son and successor for a confirma-

* [This volcano is situated in the peninsula of Simabara, in lat. 32° 40′ N., and long. 153° 18′ E., in an easterly direction from Nagasaki, just across a small bay, about twenty-five miles distance; Nagasaki is situated on the southern extremity of one peninsula, and Simabara forms another opposite to it. At present the volcano is quiescent, but the constant emission of smoke shows that its internal fires are rather slumbering than extinct. Hot springs gush out at its foot, and are used by the inhabitants for baths. The *Unzen dake* (雲前) is the name of one peak; the *Biwa no Kubi* or Guitar's Neck, is a mountain contiguous to the Unzen, consisting of three peaks of different elevations; and the *Miyoken yama*, or mountain of Miyoken (name of a deity) is a third summit. Since the great destruction of life by the eruption in 1792, the peninsula has again become peopled, and villages now cover the base of the mountains.]

tion of his father's grant. Such an application was unprecedented in Japan. It was not merely a violation of the respect due to the *siogoun*, but a positive insult, since asking him to confirm his father's act implied the apprehension that he might alter or rescind it: an offense against filial piety and reverence, such as no Japanese son conceives to be even possible. The Dutch were accordingly punished for their distrust. Their petition was not rejected, but the new charter granted them very greatly reduced their privileges.

For upwards of a century, the head of the Dutch factory repaired annually, with a large retinue of Dutch as well as of Japanese, to Yedo, and offered his tribute and his homage at the foot of the throne. But gradually the trade between Japan and Batavia fell off, and these annual journeys were felt burdensome; they were, consequently, rendered less frequent, and since the year 1792 have been limited to every fourth year. But the presents of the Dutch, being esteemed of more value than their homage, were not to be so easily dispensed with; and these are duly transmitted during the three intermediate years by means of the interpreters, at a much less expense. Since the restoration of Java to the Dutch upon the general peace, however, it appears that the trade of the factory has much revived; whereupon *opperhoofd* Blomhoff solicited permission to visit Yedo very alternate year; but his request was rejected by the *siogoun's* government.

The preparations for the Yedo journey are long and formal. When the regular time of departure draws near, the president *(opperhoofd)* makes a communication to the governor of Nagasaki, through the proper official channel, respectfully inquiring whether a visit from him will be acceptable at Yedo. The governor replies that the *opperhoofd's* homage will be accepted, and desires him to provide for the maintenance of order in the factory during his absence. The warehouse-master, as next in rank and authority to the *opperhoofd*, is always the person selected to supply the place of the absent head; and as deputy-manager of the factory, is always presented to the governor by the *opperhoofd* at his audience of leave, prior to his departure.

Originally, the head of the factory was attended to Yedo by twenty of his countrymen; a goodly train which, it is needless to say, can no longer be supplied by a factory reduced to its present scale. The numbers of the retinue have been gradually reduced, probably in proportion with the factory; and, since the journey has been rendered quadrennial instead of annual, the Dutch visitors have been limited to three, namely, the president, his secretary, and his physician.

The numbers of the Japanese who accompany the Dutch are not thus confined. At the head of the whole is a principal police-officer (a *gobanyosi*), with whom rests, in every respect, the whole conduct of the expedition. The purse, however, is not in his hands, but in those of the chief interpreter, who receives a sum of money sufficient to defray the whole expense of the expedition, which sum is, like other factory debts, deducted form the proceeds of the next sale, or rather from that of a lot of goods specifically appropriated to this object, but never producing what is sufficient to cover the expense; the remainder is supplied by the Japanese government—a circumstance that may explain the refusal to admit of more frequent visits to Yedo. Of persons of inferior rank, there are under police-officers, under interpreters, clerks, baggage-masters, superintendents of bearers, &c., in all, about thirty-five persons, all appointed by the governors. Then there are attendants to wait upon all these, Dutch and Japanese; to wit

three cooks—two for the Dutch, one for the Japanese—two upper and five under servants, besides thirty-two servants, of whom six are likewise for the Dutch. These last are usually called spies. In addition to these, and the native attendants allotted them, each of the three Dutchmen may, if he pleases, at his own private charge, take a Japanese physician, a private interpreter, and more servants. Accordingly, Dr. Siebold, when, in the year 1826, he accompanied *opperhoofd* colonel Van Sturler to Yedo, added to the train a young native physician, an artist, and six servants, to aid his naturalist researches. A Japanese pupil of the German doctor, not being permitted to attend his instructor in that character, followed him as servant to one of the interpreters. In fact, no restrictions appear to exist respecting the number of Japanese that may, upon this occasion, be engaged and supported by the foreign traders; but the name of every individual must be previously submitted to the governor of Nagasaki's approbation: one object of which arrangement may be, to insure there being a due proportion of spies amongst the servants.

Every sort of convenience and comfort required by the principal travelers during the journey they must take with them, such as linen, bedding, tables and chairs for the Europeans, table service, *batterie de cuisine*, &c., &c. They likewise take some provisions, as wine, cheese, butter, and the like, which, not being in use in Japan, are sent from Batavia to the factory; and also sweetmeats, cakes, and liqueurs, of which an immense stock appears requisite to entertain Japanese visitors. When to these indispensables are added the wardrobe of the whole company, the presents destined as well for the *siogoun* as for the several great men entitled to such a tribute of respect, and the goods carried for underhand trading; and when it is further understood that, the Japanese roads not always admitting of wheel-carriages, carts are not used for the conveyance of all this baggage, but everything is carried by men, or on pack-horses and oxen—some idea may be formed of the immense number of bearers, attendants upon beasts of burden, &c., &c., required for this journey. Part of the baggage is, indeed, sent by sea from Nagasaki to a port of the larger northern island, Nippon, in which are situated the residences of both the autocrat by right divine, the *mikado*, and his vicegerent, the *siogoun;* but when the Dutch deputation likewise lands on Nippon, this portion of the baggage joins the rest, and, upon the subsequent land journey to Yedo, the train often amounts to two hundred persons. Such a retinue sounds abundantly grand and cumbrous to English ears, and may induce the reader to think that the position and dignity of the factory president has been unduly depreciated. Far different is the effect of his traveling-array to Japanese eyes. The trains with which the princes of the empire visit Yedo amount in number to ten thousand men for those of the lowest rank, and twenty thousand for those of the highest; whence he will see that his retinue of two hundred persons does not very extravagantly exalt the mercantile foreigner.

The journey to Yedo is, nevertheless, the occasion upon which the European dignitary enjoys the most honorable distinctions ever conceded to him, and the least liberty—a privation which, in Japan, invariably accompanies honors—and all the writers who describe it concur in asserting that, upon the road, he is treated with the full complement of respect shown to princes. He travels in a *norimono;* but, to enable the English reader to estimate justly this honor, it must be explained that there are in Japan two kinds of palanquins, the one called a

norimono, for the higher, and the other a *kago*, for the lower, ranks; and that these again, especially the *norimono*, are subdivided, and allotted to different classes of dignities, according to the length and shape of the poles, the mode of carrying, the pace and number of the bearers, and the like: the whole being in themselves, in shape and form, something between a palanquin and a sedan-chair; less roomy and commodious than the former—inasmuch as they are too short to admit of the traveler's lying down—but far more so than the latter. The sides are lackered, the windows can be closed with blinds, and the top is in the shape of a house-roof, under the ridge of which the pole appears to be passed.* Now, the *opperhoofd* travels in a *norimono* of the kind confined to very high rank, beside which is borne the tea-equipage already described—an indulgence restricted nearly, if not wholly, to personages sufficiently exalted to be entitled to use a *norimono* of this description. He remains in his *norimono* where all others, princes and imperial governors excepted, are obliged to alight and walk. The *gobanyosi* every morning asks the *opperhoofd*'s pleasure as to the halts for dining and sleeping; although these being fixed by invariable custom, the answer is immaterial, and Siebold says, that were any change desired, it must be arranged beforehand at Nagasaki. The three Dutch travelers are lodged in inns of the first class, frequented by princes, governors, and nobles, or, where there are none such at the halting-place, in temples; whilst the Japanese officials, even those most consequential, occupy second-rate inns, except at such large towns as Ohosaka and Miyako, where, probably, for the closer custody of the foreigners, the police-officers are quartered in the same inns with the Dutch. Everywhere the *opperhoofd* is received by his host in full-dress, with the national compliment of welcome; and finally, men, women, and children, upon the road, either perform a salutation closely resembling the Chinese *kotow* in his honor, or turn their back upon him—a somewhat singular Japanese demonstration of reverence, designed to intimate that the person so turning away is unworthy to look upon the person turned from. This last mark of reverence is described by the Swede Thunberg, who adds, that the highest possible expression of respect is first to make the *kotow*, and then to turn the back.

These are asserted to be the identical honors paid to princes; but lest too lofty a conception of the station of a Dutch factory president should be formed from this statement, it becomes necessary to explain, from Siebold, that these honors are paid him, not in that character, nor, as Fischer would fain persuade his readers and himself, as the representative of the Dutch nation, but simply as somebody, however lowly, about to be glorified by admission into the presence of the *siogoun*.

The journey is divided into three portions—to wit, the land-journey across the island of Kiusiu, which occupies about seven days; the sea-voyage, through a sort of archipelago of small islands to Nippon, occupying from four or seven to fourteen days, partly as the wind favors or opposes, partly as the travelers are disposed and suffered to loiter at their nightly island quarters; and the second land-journey, across Nippon to Yedo, occupying twenty-two or twenty-three days of actual traveling, besides those spent at Ohosaka and Miyako. The whole journey from Dezima to Yedo is usually performed in about seven weeks. The itinerary is very circumstantially given by every writer who has been of the party, but can only in a very few of the details be interesting to European readers. The form and ap-

* [Each of these different kinds of sedans have particular names; *norimono* or *kago* are general terms for them, which seem to be indiscriminately used in common parlance. The person carried sits on his feet, in Japanese style.]

pearance of the body of travelers is from its dissimilarity to anything European, one of these points, and is described by Fischer and Siebold, who respectively visited Yedo in 1822 and 1826.

The presents lead the way, duly escorted, and are followed by the baggage. Then, at a proper interval, comes the living procession. A baggage master and superintendent of bearers go first, and are followed by two inferior police-officers, or *banyosi*, in *norimono* of the lowest class (Doeff says in *cago*), but each attended by his servants, and two bearers of clothes-chests. And here it may be stated, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, that every *norimino* and *cago* is accompanied and attended by all the servants belonging to its occupant, and the number of bearers of clothes-chests and rain-cloak baskets appropriate to his rank; a clerk of the interpreters, the vice under-interpreter, and the under-interpreter, in their *cago*, properly attended; the Dutch physician, preceded by his medicine-chest, and borne in a *norimono* of somewhat superior character to those before-mentioned; the secretary in a similar *norimono;* a superintendent of *norimono;* two superintendents of bearers; the Dutch president, with eight bearers, who relieve each other, and whose dresses are adorned with the initials of the United Netherlands' (*i. e.* Dutch) East India Company, V. N. O. C. Servants, interpreters, police-officers, &c., follow.

At all the regular stages throughout Japan, there are, we are told, supplies of bearers to be hired by travelers after the manner of post-horses; but upon the Dutch journey to Yedo, these relays are not used. Bearers are engaged for certain fixed portions of the journey; *e.g.* one set carries the party and the luggage across the island of Kiusiu. They perform their day's-work, which is occasionally of not less than seventeen hours, without any appearance of over-fatigue, take a hot bath upon reaching the sleeping-station, and are ready by daybreak next morning to resume their burdens.

In the days of Kæmpfer, it seems that the governor of Nagasaki was in the habit of visiting or meeting the Dutch president at the moment of his departure, to wish him a prosperous journey. He now contents himself with sending him a message to that effect; but if numbers can compensate for dignity, the want of his personal presence can be but little felt, as every Japanese officially connected with the factory, or acquainted with any of the travelers, meets them at a temple just without Nagasaki, or accompanies them thither, there to drink a farewell cup of *sake* with them.

During the journey through Kiusiu, the whole party are entertained by the respective princes whose dominions they traverse. A detachment of the troops of each prince meets them on his frontiers, compliments the Dutch president in the prince's name, and escorts him across the principality. At Kokura, a seaport of Kiusiu, where they embark, they leave their own palanquins of all descriptions, to await their return. On the voyage, they land every night to sleep; and here again they are entertained at the cost of the serveral princes to whom the islands belong. The wind was unfavorable to Fischer's voyage, in consequence of which he was long detained amongst these small islands, and saw more than usual of the inhabitants, who endeavored to make the time of the Dutch travelers pass as agreeably as the orders of the *gobanyosi* would allow. Indeed, this officer himself, and the chief interpreter. appear to be generally disposed to indulge their charge as far as they can, and to do the honors of their country to them, by showing the lions, as it is familiarly called; and Siebold expresses his conviction, that the dis,

satisfaction and complaints of the Dutch originate, almost invariably in either their ignorance or their economy. As the sum of money received by the interpreter for the journey is calculated precisely to defray it as prescribed by custom, it is evident that any extra expenditure, incurred by a deviation from the road, or by a prolonged stay, where the party is not entertained by a prince, would fall upon himself, if not provided for by the Dutch. That he should voluntarily incur such expense, it would be absurd to expect; but the German physician is satisfied, by his own experience, that, if so provided for and mentioned in time, many indulgences of this kind might be enjoyed. Yedo must, however, be reached by a fixed time, the reason of which will be seen.

The roads are, generally speaking, good, and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such traveling retinues as have been described. It is the frequency of mountains to be crossed, over which the road is led up and down steps, that impedes the progress of wheel-carriages. The roads are commonly bordered by trees. They are constantly swept clean, as much by the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure, as in honor of distinguished travelers; and the sides are thronged with manufacturers and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen [and sandals for travelers; the price of the former is about 12 copper cash each.] This is the only kind of shoe used for these animals, and its rapid consumption affords ample occupation to numbers.

It may be added, that road-books, containing every species of information important to travelers, down to a very minute and accurate table of rates, charges and prices, for bearers, at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.

The sights exhibited to the European travelers on their way to Yedo are usually natural curiosities, hot and mineral springs, with their respective bathing establishments, temples, fine prospects, &c.; the last of which are very commodiously enjoyed, as wherever any point commands a prospect celebrated for its beauty, if there be no temple, a tea-house is almost certain to be found. Interesting and agreeable as all these objects may be to travelers in Japan, a very few of them will, probably, satisfy the European reader.

Nothing in the journey across Kiusiu appears to have impressed Siebold more than his visit to a Budhist temple of the *Ikko-shyu* sect, at Yagami, where the party dined the day they left Nagasaki. It presented a rare instance of a Budhist temple, that may be called exempt from idols, containing only a single image, designed to represent the One only God, Amida. The bonzes of this sect are the only Budhist priests allowed to marry and to eat meat. Siebold considers their faith to be pure deism.

A camphor-tree, mentioned by Kæmpfer, A. D. 1691, as already celebrated for its size, hollow from age, and supposed to measure six fathoms in circumference, though from its standing on a hill it was not then actually measured, was visited by Siebold in 1826. He found it still healthy, and rich in foliage, though 135 years older. He and his pupils measured it, and gives 16.884 metres (about fifty yards) as its circumference, adding, in confirmation of this enormous size, that fifteen men can stand in its inside.

At Tsuka-sake is a celebrated hot-spring, with a bathing establishment for invalids. Colonel Van Sturler and his party were permitted to bathe in the prince of Fizen's own bath, and were much struck by the superlative cleanliness of the whole; as an instance of which, the doctor states that the water although clear as crystal, was made to pass through hair sieves into the bath, to guard against the possible

introduction of an impurity. Whilst speaking of princely establishments, it may be added, that the same party passed a night in a country-palace of the prince of Chikuzen, where his highness' own apartment was assigned to the colonel. This apartment consisted only of an ante-room and a bedchamber, which last, like most others in Japan, became a sitting-room when the bedding was stowed away in a chest for the day—an operation of no great difficulty, said bedding consisting only of a thin matress for each person; except, indeed, a wooden pillow, or rather bolster, upon which a wadded pillow or cushion is laid, which bolster is fashioned into a tiny chest of drawers, the receptacle of small and highly valuable articles. The walls of the prince of Chikuzen's rooms are of cedar-wood, highly polished and colored; the division is made by screens, of gilt paper, in gilt and lackered frames, removable at pleasure. The apartment opens into a garden, containing, as usual, a small *miya*, or chapel. But the chief peculiarities of the apartment were, first, a cleanliness and neatness perfectly luxurious; and next, its great modesty and smallness, considered as destined for the occupation of a reigning prince; but principally, a large closet, much resembling a cage, formed out of a corner of the ante-room, in which the chamberlain in attendance is condemned habitually to pass his hours alone—there, unseen and unobtrusive, waiting and watching for his highness' commands.

But, perhaps, the most important object mentioned by any traveler in Kiusiu is the coal, of which Siebold speaks as in use. At Koyanosi, he saw a coal-fire, which must have been most acceptable, as the journey is always begun in February, when the country, he says, wore its winter garb; and he frequently mentions frost. He visited a coal-mine at Wukumoto, and though not allowed to descend the shaft more than half-way, or about sixty steps, he saw enough to satisfy him that the mine was well and judiciously worked. The upper strata which he saw were only a few inches thick, but he was told the lower beds were of many feet, and he says that the blocks of coal drawn up confirmed the statement. The coal, being bituminous in its nature, appears to be made into coke for use; and, perhaps, independent of this reason, it may thus be more agreeable to people whose more general fuel is charcoal.

The voyage from Kiusiu affords little worth dwelling upon; except, indeed, the measure which, in 1822, when contrary and tempestuous winds so unusually prolonged the passage, the Japanese sailors adopted, in order to obtain favorable weather. These and their result are too national to be omitted. The mariners flung overboard a small barrel of *sake*, and a certain number of copper coins, as a sacrifice to the god Kompira. The money of course sank, and thus it is to be hoped found its intended way to the deity it was destined to propitiate; but the barrel floated, and was picked up by some fishermen. Does the reader suspect the finders of drinking this favorite and readily-intoxicating liquor? He would do them great injustice. They well knew the meaning of the act, and honestly carried the offering to the proper temple.

Upon landing to begin their journey across Nippon, the travelers find palanquins and all other requisites, in lieu of those left at Kokura, and set forward. The first place of any note that they reach is Ohosàka, one of the five great imperial cities, and a chief emporium of internal trade. But although the travelers rest here a day or two, they are not allowed to see anything on their way to Yedo. The numerous visits they receive, especially from physicians and their patients are all paid underhand. Even the presents destined for the governor of Ohosaka cannot

now be offered, but are left in deposit in the town, to be given when the giver, having had his audience of the *siogoun*, shall be authorized to show his liberality. The only lawful use they can make of their sojourn is to order goods to be manufactured for them against their return.

A journey of a day and a half brings the party to Miyako, the nominal capital of the empire, as being the seat of the *daïri*, or court of the autocrat *mikado*. Here, likewise, they are allowed a brief rest, yet are more strictly immured than at Ohosaka, and more numerously visited, for the most part underhand, but openly by the secretaries of some official personages, with compliments of welcome. The presents provided for those grandees at Miyako who are entitled to them are left, as in the former case; a passport is obtained from the grand judge, who resides here as the *siogoun's* representative at the *mikado's* court, and the longest and most arduous portion of the journey begins.

Between Miyako and Yedo, the nobles of the country, with their troops of attendants, are frequently met; and after some days' traveling, occasionally a prince, with his host. The princes avoid passing though Miyako, where every member of the *daïri* is esteemed their superior. The Dutch caravan gives way only to princes; and it is somewhat remarkable that no mention is made of inconvenience of any kind from the collision of such large bodies of travelers, either on the road or at the inns: a consequence, it might be supposed, of much previous arrangement and great uniformity in all their proceedings, did not the casualties of a sea-voyage oppose this idea.

Half-way between the two capitals is a shallow lake, on the western shore of which stands the town of Araye, the station of the great Yedo guard. So important is this post esteemed, that the prince in whose dominions it lies, and whose troops furnish the guard, is almost invariably a member of the Council of State. No one may pass Araye towards Yedo without the grand judge's passport. No woman can pass without the most especial permission; and, therefore, besides the examination of their papers and baggage to guard against contraband goods, travelers are obliged to submit to a personal inquest, lest a woman should be smuggled past in male attire; a crime, the perpetration of which would infallibly cost the lives of the offending woman, her male companions, and the guards whose watchfulness had been thus deceived. Why such watchfulness is exercised upon persons going to Yedo, is, however, nowhere explained; the avowed object of the regulation being to prevent the escape of the wives of princes, governors, and other men high in office, whose families are detained at court as hostages for the fidelity of the husband and father.

When every form has been gone through, a vessel belonging to the prince, but bearing for this occasion the Dutch flag, carries the whole party across the lake. The next day they are ferried over the rapid river Tenriu, the sand of which is full of gold-dust, which, Fischer says, the Japanese do not understand the art of separating from the sand—a strange piece of ignorance in a nation whose skill in metallurgy is highly praised!

But a river which, without gold-dust, is much more renowned in Japan, is the Oye gawa, which they cross the following day. This river has too much of the torrent character to bear a bridge or a ferry-boat. It is accordingly passed by fording; an operation rendered dangerous, as well as difficult, by the unevenness of the bottom, which is thickly strewed with large blocks of stone. Upon the banks are stationed persons, whose business it is to conduct travelers across.

These people are responsible for the safety of man, beast, and baggage; and the number of guides to attend upon each, as well as their remuneration, is fixed by law, according to the depth of the water. The bed of the river is about a quarter of a mile broad, of which, when Fischer crossed, the stream occupied not more than fifty feet, whilst the water reached to a man's breast. It need scarcely be added that, after heavy rains, this river is often unfordable, and travelers are delayed very many days upon its banks. Our party experienced no such inconvenience, but from twelve to sixteen men were required for every *norimono*, and the pedestrians were carried over on the shoulders of the guides. The celebrity of the Oye gawa has been already noticed, and it will be enough to add that this river affords to Japanese painters their favourite landscapes: to their compatriot poets and aphoristic moralists, their favorite metaphors, similes, and illustrations.

In these respects, the river is emulated by the mountain Fusi, the next remarkable object. This mountain (the elevation of which has been estimated, but* without giving any authority for the measure from actual observation, at ten or twelve thousand feet,) is by far the loftiest in Japan, and always crowned with snow; on account of which, and of the high winds reported to prevail on its summit, a pilgrimage to its highest peak—the ascent to which, Thunberg says, occupies three days—is considered a meritorious act of devotion. This pilgrimage is particularly incumbent upon the *yamabosi*, who, although not prohibited marriage, may be regarded as a description of monks. They live a sort of hermit life, devoted to religious exercises and superstitious practices of different kinds. Their daughters are the mendicant nuns, of whom mention has been made.

To return to the mountain. Fusi was formerly an active, and peculiarly dreaded volcano; but so long a period—upwards of a century—has elapsed since its last eruption, that all apprehension of its terrors has subsided, and the rich and lovely adjacent region is enjoyed in security. The mountain itself is described as singularly beautiful, as well as bold in character, and commanding admiration from the first moment that it is fairly seen, at a distance of two days' journey. The road running along its foot affords, during a considerable time, a view of its sublime beauties; and at the village Motoichiba, whence it is seen to peculiar advantage, a peasant hospitably offers the traveler an entertainment, the principal dish of which is a preparation of *sake*, with snow from Fusi, bearing some resemblance to the ice-creams of Europe. The peasant's hospitality is rewarded by the present of a Japanese gold coin, called a *koban*, and worth £1. 6*s*. 6*d*.

Soon after leaving the vicinity of this, often-painted and often-sung, extinct volcano, the Dutch deputation begins the toilsome ascent of another mountain, or mountainous ridge, which must be crossed. It is called Fakone, and is said likewise to offer splendid views of mingled fertility and savage nature. At a spot offering the most admired of these, an establishment is prepared for the reception of traveling grandees, where tea, confectionary, and other dainties, are served up

* Parker's Journal of a Voyage to Japan. [The authority for the estimated height of Mt. Fusi was captain Ingersoll of the ship Morrison; it was but little more than the shrewd guess of an experienced navigator; according to the chart, the ship at the time was about forty miles distance from the mountain. By the same authority, it lies in lat. 34° 50′ N., and long. 139° 05′ E., in the southern part of the peninsular principality of Izu. Its common name is *Fuzi san* (富士山), and without dispute its appearance is, as a Japanese notice of it says, "not at all mean, but very magnificent."]

by beautiful damsels. Upon this mountain, another guard is stationed for the prevention of unlawful ingress and egress into and out of Yedo; and a curious anecdote is told by M. Titsingh in his Annals, of a trick put upon this guard at Fakone, and the combined artifice and violence by which the fearful consequences of that trick were obviated.

"An inhabitant of Yedo, named Fiyozayemon, a widower with two children, a girl and a boy, was called to a distance by business. He was poor; he knew not how to provide for his children during his absence, and resolved to take both with him. Accordingly, he dressed his daughter in boy's clothes, and thus passed the Fakone guard unsuspected. He was rejoicing in his success, when a man, who knew what children he had, joined him, congratulated him on his good luck, and asked for something to drink. The alarmed father offered a trifle; the man demanded a sum beyond his means; a quarrel ensued, and the angry informer ran back to the guard to make known the error that had been committed. The whole guard was thunderstruck. If the informer spoke truth, and the fact were detected, all their lives were forfeited; yet, to send a party to apprehend the offenders, and thus actually betray themselves, was now unavoidable. The commanding officer, however, saw his remedy. He delayed the detachment of reluctant pursuers sufficiently to allow a messenger with a little boy to outstrip them. The messenger found Fiyozayemon and his children refreshing themselves at an inn; he announced the discovery made, and the imminent danger; offered the boy as a temporary substitute for the disguised girl, and told the father that, when the falsehood of the charge should have been proved by both the children appearing to be boys, he might very fairly fly into such a rage as to kill his accuser. The kind offer was, of course, gratefully accepted. The willfully dilatory guard arrived, surrounded the house, seized upon Fiyozayemon and the children, and gladly pronounced that both the latter were boys. The informer, who well knew Fiyozayemon's family, declared that some imposition had been practiced, which the accused indignantly resenting, he drew his sword and struck off the informer's head. The delighted guard exclaimed that such a liar had only met his deserts, and returned to their post; while the father, receiving back his daughter instead of the substituted boy, went his way rejoicing."

On the forty-eighth day from leaving Dezima, the deputation, of which Overmeer Fischer, when secretary of the factory, made one, arrived at Kawasaky, within a short distance of Yedo.

"We more and more plainly perceived," he says, "that we were advancing into the neighborhood of a large town: bustle of all sorts, numerous retinues, the size of the houses of entertainment, even some little diversity in dress and manners, distinctly proclaimed it; and, in the evening, we were surprised by the appearance of Sazyuro, the interpreter, then resident at Yedo, who came with one of his friends to bid us welcome. The landlord of Nagasakkia, as the abiding place of the Hollanders at Yedo is called, likewise visited us here, to pay his compliments. By daybreak of the 27th, all was commotion and hurry, every one busy alike. Attired in our best clothes, we quitted Kawasaky at nine o'clock in the morning, crossed the Rokfugo gawa, and at half-past eleven entered Sinagawa, the western suburb of Yedo, amidst a frightful concourse of people. Here we were necessarily detained for some time, in order to await a number of visits from friends and acquaintances, who came to welcome the chief police-officer and the interpreter, as well as ourselves. At about two o'clock, we again set forward, and

passed the palace of the prince of Satzuma, who, in the year 1818, had visited the *opperhoofd* in person. Our train was preceded and accompanied by soldiers belonging to the town, chiefly for the purpose of preserving order. The streets were so thronged with men, that we could scarcely see anything of the houses; and although our escort very palpably repelled the people, that did not prevent our bearers from being inconveniently crowded. We passed along wide streets, on both sides paved with stone, and, as in other towns, formed by regularly built houses. We saw here very large edifices and shops, the latter protected by awnings. In front of these shops, and of every place where goods were on sale, stood a number of lads, who recommend the goods, emulously clamoring, in order to draw the attention of passers-by. Here, as in England, much is thought of signs and inscriptions over shops, and although there are here no carriages to increase the noise and tumult, I can compare the hurly-burly of Yedo to nothing but that of London.

"Long ere we entered Sinagawa, we were already moving amidst the thronging of an unnumbered multitude, and along wide streets, all of which may be reckoned as part of the town; and, from the suburb to our residence, we were full two hours on our way, proceeding at a steadv pace, rather faster then usual. Nagasakkia lies close to the imperial palace, which is situated in the centre of the town, and estimated to occupy an extent of ground measuring half a mile in diameter, from which calculation we must reckon the diameter of the town at five or six hours' moderate walking."

Art. V. *Biographical notice of Tae Tsoo or Hungwoo, emperor of China, and founder of the Ming dynasty; born* a. d. 1327, *died* a. d. 1398. Translated from the French of Rémusat.

Some embarrassment has been caused in our histories of China by the different names which custom assigns to the same emperor, and a sort of confusion introduced into the writings of European authors by their neglecting to give, on this subject, the necessary explanations. Three emperors, in particular, have obtained considerable celebrity among the western nations under names by which they were never known in China. These are Tae Tsoo, founder of the Ming dynasty, called by Europeans Hungwoo, Shingtsoo, better known as Kanghe, and Kaoutsung or Keënlung,—these last the two greatest emperors of the Tartar dynasty at present occupying the throne. It is well known, that every Chinese, to whatever rank in society he may belong, receives at different times of his life, and even after his death, various names which can by no means be made

use of indifferently, but are employed according to circumstances to designate the same individual. The same rule applies to the emperors as to their subjects, with this difference, that where the emperor is concerned the custom which prescribes the use of one name rather than another is more strictly obeyed, and the infraction of it leads to more serious consequences.

The name borne in its private condition, by a family afterwards raised to the throne, remains common to all the members of this family, but is soon neglected and lost sight of, particularly as regards the emperors themselves. It as usually replaced by some pompous and metaphorical denomination, such as *Heä*, Splendor; *Ming*, Light; *Tsing*, Purity; or by a name derived from a place, as Han, Tang, Sung, which seems to belong to the empire itself, as long as the same family occupies the throne, and cannot be applied to any monarch in particular, as it is common to all the race. The *joo ming*, *milk name*, or *little name*, as it is called, which is given to children at their birth, can only be used by parents or persons privileged to take so great a liberty; it would be, even with regard to private individuals, an intolerable familiarity to address them by their *milk names*, and a positive crime where the emperor was concerned. To avoid the severe punishmant to which a writer would expose himself by introducing the familiar name of his sovereign, the orthography is altered, some form of apology is annexed, and, with these precautions, the name in its new form may be embodied in history.

An emperor receives, during his life, no denomination but such as serves to designate his supreme power; the sovereign, the monarch, the master, the court, or the steps of the throne which answer to his majesty; the ten thousand years, which expresses the wish that such may be the duration of his reign, &c. He himself assigns to the years of this reign one or more names, indicating the use that he desires to make of his power, or the spirit which directs his government, such as Profound Peace, Celestial Protection, the Light of Reason, &c. These names are often in Europe mistaken for those of the sovereigns themselves, from the circumstance of their being employed to date all public acts and events. The emperor of China may be said, during his life, to have no name peculiar to himself. After his death, one is assigned to him by which he is known in history, and this may include in its signification either praise or blame, eulogy or censure. These posthumous names are of most frequent occurrence in the chronicles; for instance, Woo te, the warlike prince; Wăn te, the learned; Kaou te, the sublime; Fe te, the

deposed sovereign, &c. Others again bear some relation to the dynasty, and recall the part which the deceased emperor took in its elevation to imperial rank. Tae Tsoo, or Great Ancestor, is a name common to the founders of dynasties; Tae Tsung, or Great and Honorable Prince belongs to the sovereigns who have consolidated their power. Ching Tsoo, She Tsoo, She Tsung are the immediate successors of these first. These cannot be called individual names, for every dynasty has its Tae Tsoo, She Tsung, Woo te. This inconvenience, the Chinese remedy by prefixing the name of the dynasty; as Sung Tae Tsung, "the Great and Honorable prince of the Sung dynasty," was a sovereign who reigned at the end of the tenth century; Ming Tae Tsoo, the founder of the dynasty of Ming, is the monarch of whose life we are about to give a brief account.

We may now understand the almost inevitable inaccuracies of our historical dictionaries in their mention of the emperors of China. If these are spoken of by their familiar names, it is contrary to all the rules of Chinese propriety; if their posthumous names are given to them it is a real anachronism; and if they are called by the names of their reigns, an error which the Chinese never commit, a new race of princes are, as it were, created, whose names are not to be found in Chinese annals; such as Hungwoo, the "Warlike Fortune;" Kanghe, the "Profound Peace;" Keënlung, the "Protection of Heaven." However, as such blunders are only distressing to persons who understand Chinese, the number of these is not sufficiently great to make us reject, for their sakes, names and expressions which have become naturalized among us. We think the explanation given above will obviate the objections to such a course, and it will be necessary to bear it in mind in reading the lives of the three most illustrious princes who have filled the throne of China, during the last and present dynasties.

Hungwoo is the name which Europeans are in the habit of giving to the founder of the twenty-first dynasty, because it is the one which was applied to the years of his reign. As an obscure individual he was called Choo Yuenchang. The name under which he has been honored in the hall of his ancestors and celebrated in history is that of Tae Tsoo, Illustrious Grandfather, or great forefather, because he was the first of his family raised to the imperial throne. He was born in the year 1327, at Szechow, a small town of the province of Keängnan, in the department of Fungyang. His father was a poor laborer, and as Choo Yuenchang his second son, appeared from his infancy to be a child of feeble constitution, he determined to con-

secrate him to the worship of a Budhist divinity. The young man who was one day to be at the head of a mighty empire, was thus educated in a temple and when seventeen years old, embraced a religious profession, or in the language of the Catholic missionaries, became a bonze. This happened in the fifteenth year of the reign of Cheching the last emperor of the Mongols, to whose throne the young bonze eventually succeeded.

History is often unjust to unfortunate princes, and the last of the Tartar emperors has been greatly decried for the consequences of an enterprise that threw the empire into confusion, but which, had it succeeded, would have been rewarded by the praise of contemporaries and the admiration of posterity. The object proposed was the formation of a new channel for the *Hwang ho* or Yellow river; the outbreak of whose waters is often attended by disastrous consequences, making the provinces through which they flow pay dear for the advantages they afford to commerce and agriculture. The enormous expenses, and the overwhelming burdens upon the people, exacted by this great undertaking, produced universal discontent, and after a time a general insurrection. The power of the Mongols was not sufficient to repress the rebellions which broke forth in every part of the empire. One of the principal leaders of the mutineers was Ko Tsewhing; his progress was the most rapid, and the seat of his insurrection the province of Keängnan.

In the midst of these tumults, the young Choo Yuenchang, becoming disgusted with monastic life, enrolled himself as a soldier in the ranks of the rebel chief, who occupied his native province of Keängnan. He became distinguished for his military talent, obtained a small command, and soon acquired such influence over his subordinates as enabled him to declare himself independent of his first employers. But with all his ambition he was not unmindful of the gratitude he owed to Ko Tsewhing, whom he would not abandon until he had rendered him some distinguished service. He aided him in making himself master of one of the most important cities in this part of the country, and feeling that he had thus discharged his obligations to his old commander, he took possession for himself of Hoyang, a city upon the Yangtsze keäng a little distance from Nanking. He afterwards seized upon Taeping, and finally on the capital of the province itself, then called Kinling, or the Golden Hill.

Instead of imitating the example of the rebel chiefs in general, and fatiguing his followers by injudicious and fruitless expeditions, he established in his new capital a sort of government, modeled upon a

plan considered by the learned men of the country as a masterwork in politics, and containing the essence of all wise administration. Having thus procured the support of this numerous and powerful class, the men of letters, he gave himself little concern about his rivals, and one of the most formidable of them, Chin Yewleäng, having ventured to insult him in the heart of his little kingdom, was not only discomfited and repulsed, but Choo Yuenchang becoming the assailant in his turn, increased his own power at the expense of his enemy, and added to his conquests a considerable part of Keängse, and more than half of Hookwang.

The commanders of the insurgent forces were no longer simple partisan officers, who contested the possession of a few unimportant cantons, but skillful and experienced generals, whose success or defeat compromised entire provinces of the empire. The army of Choo Yuenchang consisted of more than two hundred thousand men.

It would be long and wearisome to follow in detail the fortunes of the different officers who attached themselves to Choo Yuenchang, or to enumerate the towns they conquered, either from the other rebels, or from the Mongols themselves. But it is interesting to see this military leader, whose success we forgive because he merited his good fortune, entering as a conqueror his native town of Szechow. His first object was to do homage to his ancestors, for according to Chinese ideas, his elevation was entirely due to their virtues. He prostrated himself repeatedly, striking the earth with his forehead before their '*house of sepulchre*,' and then having seated himself near, he said to his generals, "In my early youth, being the son of a poor laborer, I was ambitious of no higher fortune than that of my father. When I became a soldier, my first wish was the fulfillment of my duties. Could I then foresee that I might one day restore peace to the empire? After more than ten years of absence, and having achieved a certain degree of glory, I return to my country, to the tombs of my ancestors, and find them as I left them. When I first entered the army, a simple soldier in the ranks, I saw the bravest and most distinguished of our officers permitting their soldiers to plunder and insult the people, carry off their wives and children, and despoil them of all they possessed. Indignant at these acts of violence, and full of grief for the sufferings of the unfortunate victims, I dared to raise my voice against such enormities, and to reproach those by whom they were authorized, but finding these men deaf to my remonstrances, I determined to separate myself from their companionship. I assembled officers of my own around me; I recommended

to them never to permit their troops to be guilty of similar disorders, but in all things to spare the people and thus convince them that we had taken up arms for their relief, and to insure them the blessings of a permanent peace. Heaven has no doubt approved of my conduct, since from the low degree in which I was born I have been raised to the honor of becoming your commander."

A conqueror, professing such opinions and inspiring others with the same, could hardly fail to prevail in the end over competitors whose conduct was generally of a very different sort. He strove to destroy his rivals, one after the other, and they by their bad government, hastened their own fall and his triumph. For some time his officers had been pressing him to declare himself emperor; but dreading the reproach attached to the name of rebel, and wishing in some degree to spare the Mongols, desiring also to prepare the minds of the people for his final elevation, he began by assuming the title of prince of Woo. In this he followed the example of others who had aspired to supreme authority, and renewed the recollection of one of the ancient principalities, which under the third dynasty, constituted the feudal system of the empire. He afterwards successively took possession, in person or through his generals, of the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangse, and Shantung.

This last province was, as it were, the bulwark of the province of Cheïhle, where the Tartars held their court. The prince of Woo traversed it rapidly and presented himself before Tung chow which he carried by storm. The Mongol emperor, seeing that there was no longer any hope of retrieving his affairs, and unwilling to stand a siege in Peking, escaped into Tartary. The conqueror made his entry into the capital, and at length received there the title of emperor. He gave to his dynasty the name of Ming, which signifies both literally and metaphorically Light, and to the years of his reign that of Hungwoo, which may be translated *fortunate war*, or rather *great fortune by war*. Following the example of other writers, we shall now call Choo Yuenchang by the name of Hungwoo, having already explained the inaccuracy of such a denomination as applied to the prince himself rather than to the years of his reign.

The submission of the capital and of the principal provinces seemed only to increase the activity of the new sovereign in his efforts to complete the conquest of the empire. All his generals were sent forth at once to reduce what remained of the party of the Mongols, or bring to submission the rebel captains the former rivals of Hungwoo. The emperor himself meanwhile remained tranquil but not unem-

ployed in Peking, and labored to consolidate by wise institutions the power which so far was supported by the success of his arms. An enemy to luxury, as are almost all those who rise by their own merit, and desire to show themselves superior to fortune, he began by reforming the foolish expenses which had rendered the Tartar court odious to the people. He threw down the towers and sumptuous palaces erected by the Mongols at Peking, and replaced by ornaments of copper the figures of gold and silver which had adorned the furniture of the palaces and the imperial cars; and when one of the great men of the court remonstrated with him on these changes, and argued the necessity of preserving the superfluities which gave éclat to his dignity, Hungwoo replied, 'The glory of a sovereign does not consist in the costly and sumptuous trappings of rank, but in being master of a people whom he renders happy. I have the whole empire for my domain; shall I be less wealthy for wanting these useless ornaments? And if I set an example of luxury, how can I condemn it in my subjects?'

Hungwoo had too much real greatness of soul to forget the obscure rank from which he had sprung, and so far from being ashamed of his origin he seemed rather to take pride in it. All the discourses addressed to his courtiers, the instructions to his people, the exhortations to his armies, seemed to have the same object, that of elevating their minds by the example of his elevation, and pointing out to them the height to which he had been raised by the modest and simple virtues of his ancestors, and by his own care in availing himself of the benevolent intentions of heaven towards mankind. His desire of peace did not prevent him from undertaking such wars as he thought necessary for the permanent tranquillity of the empire. His generals, having defeated or dispersed all that remained of the Mongol armies within the Great Wall, passed the limits of the empire in several directions, and pursued into Tartary the princes of the fugitive dynasty whose return over the frontiers might have endangered the peace of China. Tibet, Leaoutung, and even several divisions of the Mongol nation, submitted in their turn to the arms of Hungwoo, and the Tartar prince who still called himself emperor, was compelled to retire to Karakorum, to the very country which his ancestors had left when they overran Asia. But in this retreat the Tartars continued to make themselves troublesome to the Chinese, sometimes falling unexpectedly upon the frontiers of the empire, and then again harassing such of their own nation as had recognized the sovereignty of the Ming dynasty, and who served as a bulwark against foreign incur-

sions. Hungwoo did not live to see the end of these wars, which continued to give him fears for the stability of his dynasty, and it was not until the time of his second successor, Yunglŏ, that the Chinese at length retaliated upon the Mongols, penetrated into Tartary, and reduced it to the state of a province.

But Hungwoo had the glory of delivering his country from a yoke imposed by strangers and borne a hundred years, of reuniting to its domain immense territories subjugated by the Mongols, of restoring peace and order to a vast empire distracted by war and revolt, and of carrying the fear and glory of the Chinese name to the most distant lands, 'from whence,' says a Chinese historian, 'numbers of strangers came to pay him tribute, admire his government, and participate in its benefits.' That is to say, that under the reign of Hungwoo, foreigners were allowed access to the interior of the empire, and that the love of commerce attracted to China merchants from all parts of Asia. As to submission and tribute from countries situated beyond Tibet, in India, Persia, and Tartary, we must consider this boast as one of those exaggerations to which the Chinese are much given when the object is to exalt the glory, and augment the splendor of the reigns of their own sovereigns.

Hungwoo had named as his heir one of his sons who promised to make a worthy successor to his father, but this young prince dying in year 1392, the emperor chose in his place a grandson, the eldest son of him who had been so prematurely cut off. He was not long in regretting this new disposition of the succession, which deprived of empire the prince of Yan, another of his sons, an able and enterprizing man whose conduct after his father's death justified the fears to which his character had given rise. At the beginning of the year 1398, in the thirty-first of his reign, the emperor was attacked by the disease of which he died, being then seventy-one years old He left the reputation of having been one of the greatest sovereigns who ever reigned in China He had qualities of the highest order, and no essential defects. Persuaded that the people are always governed by their personal interests, he took the greatest care that his subjects should never want the necessaries of life; and this watchfulness on his part, the effect at once of discernment and benevolence, secured to him the affections of his own people and the regard of strangers. His clemency was equal to his courage. Maetelepala, the grandson of the last Mongol emperor, having fallen into his hands, the great men of the court, apprehending that this prince might cause trouble in the empire, advised that he should be sacrificed in the ancestral

hall of the imperial family. They justified this act of barbarous policy by the example of one of the greatest of the emperors, Tae Tsung, the founder of the Tang dynasty. 'I know,' replied Hungwoo, 'that this emperor caused Wang Shechung to be put to death in the hall of his ancestors. I doubt very much whether he would have done this had the person in question been a member of the family of Suy, his predecessors on the throne. Let the wealth brought from Tartary be put into the public treasury to defray the expenses of the state. With regard to prince Maetelepala, his ancestors have been masters of the empire nearly a hundred years; mine were their subjects; and even were it customary to put to death the members of a family expelled from the throne, it is a severity to which I could never yield my consent.' He ordered that the captive prince should assume the Chinese dress, declared him a prince of the third rank, gave him a palace for the residence of himself and the princesses his wives, and assigned him a retinue and an income suitable to his station. A short time after he sent him to Tartary to his father, commanding the persons appointed to escort him to take the greatest care that no accident should befall one who was the direct heir of the Mongol dynasty. Future events made it plainly appear that in adopting this course, Huugwoo combined the principles of humanity with those of sound policy.

Cotemporary with Timúr, Hungwoo attained by very different means an equal degree of power and celebrity. The ambition of the first caused ruin and misery to the parts of Asia visited by his ravages. The exploits of the other contributed to the happiness of man, and saved his own country from the horrors of anarchy and civil war. It was said that Timúr was a faithful subject of the Ming emperor, one of the first to acknowledge his authority, and to send him with the tribute which betokened submission, the best written letter ever received from a foreign country. It is known, however, that Hungwoo was aware of the preparations making against him by this pretended vassal; for a decree is found in the collection of imperial ordinances, commanding that troops should be assembled, camps constructed, and towns fortified on the route from Persia to China. Had not the expedition of Timúr been arrested by his death, the result would have shown whether the deliverer of China was to be deserted in the end by the good fortune which had so long accompanied him; or whether on the other hand, the conqueror of Bajazet, arriving at the farther extremity of Asia with his wearied troops, and having for auxiliaries the Mongols already conquered and dispersed, would have

found himself equal to a contest with a nation, animated by the enthusiasm of recent delivery, and led on by a commander whose success had been entirely due to his own talents and courage.

In some points Hungwoo may be compared to Genghis khan whose posterity he dethroned. It seemed as little probable that Genghis, the heir of an unknown principality in Tartary and commanding a small body of horsemen, should conquer Asia, as that Hungwoo the son of a laborer of Szechow should reconquer it from his descendents. Both had great obstacles to overcome, and rose from low estate to the possession of vast power. These oriental conquerors are not compared with Cæsar and Alexander because they are commonly considered as barbarians contending with and overcoming other barbarians; but it should be remembered that all things are relative, and that in such cases the means are proportioned to the ends. Besides it is proved from modern, if not from ancient history, that the nations, calling themselves enlightened, bend to the yoke more readily than those stigmatized as barbarous. If Genghis found the ignorance and uncivilized condition of his nation an obstacle to his schemes of dominion, Hungwoo had probably still greater difficulties to overcome in the superior refinement of his countrymen; it was an easier task for the one to rally the Tartar hordes round his standard, than for the other to subdue and conciliate the proud spirits of the learned and enlightened men of China. For the accomplishment of such different purposes very different talents were required. But if the career of Genghis was apparently more brilliant, Hungwoo better merited the name of great man. The warlike phrenzy of one laid waste one half the world, and cost the lives of millions. The wars which the other found himself compelled to maintain, delivered a great empire from foreign dominion, reëstablised order within its limits, restored the authority of the laws, and conferred the blessings of peace and abundance.

We have under the name of Hungwoo, a collection of laws and instructions of which the first emperor of the Mantchous caused a translation to be made,—it is a noble monument of wisdom and elevated sentiment. Father de Mailla has made much use of it in compiling the early history of the Ming dynasty. (See Hist. Gén. de la Chine, tome X.)

Art. VI. *Notices of China, No. II. Face of the country, its populousness, and climate; agriculture; food of the people.* By S. R.

The territory of China is very uneven. The southern provinces, from Yunnan to Chĕkeăng, abound in mountains, some of which are arid. Keăngse, Hoonan, Hoopĭh, and also, as I have been told, Keăngnan, Honan, Shense, and Cheĭhle, are vast plains. The two provinces of Hoonan and Hoopĭh, comprising that which formed the ancient Hookwang, have been inundated for three successive years; and since that, these two beautiful provinces have not been so rich. When I passed through them (in November, 1833), we made from three to four days' journey of the route through a country covered with water, where we only saw a few trees of long standing, but no houses, except here and there in places a little elevated.

The province of Honan has also met with some disasters, as many as eleven towns having been swallowed up by earthquakes. [?] Hankew, the ancient capital of Hookwang, which includes within its precincts two towns of the first order, and is more extensive than Peking, has been under water a whole month. The other provinces are more or less mountainous. Those in the middle of the empire, as we go from Szechuen, are fertile and populous, and the towns very near to each other. In the single province of Szechuen, they number one hundred and eight towns of the third order, nineteen of the second, and twelve of the first. Within the space of one of the third order there are as many as forty market-places. I have passed through some which included forty-eight. There are few provinces which do not include twelve towns of the first order and others in proportion. The soil must be very fertile to sustain so many people, and supply these populous cities. Those only are called towns, which are surrounded by walls, the rest though they may be more populous than those of the first order, are only denominated market-places.

The climate of China is as varied as its surface. At Canton, it does not [often] freeze, though the cold is very piercing. At about the 30th and 31st degrees of latitude, snow falls in winter, but does not continue to lie upon the plains. Some winters, as that of 1833, are very sharp there. In Shense, and in all the north of China, they are so severe, that the Yellow river is covered with ice, upon which pass carts, beasts of burden, and porters with their loads. The cold

that we experience in this country is much more penetrating than that of Europe. I am not able to ascribe it any other cause, than to the quantity of nitre with which the earth is charged. In summer, when the heat is greatest, and causes the vapors to ascend, all the pillars and walls of the houses are observed to be moistened, and the next morning they are covered with a white coating, in appearance like lime, but which is nothing but nitre. Sudden changes of temperature in the air are frequent. In summer the heat is very great and the atmosphere very humid.*

The Chinese have pushed agriculture to the highest point of perfection, with very imperfect instruments of husbandry. No European laborer could use their plough. It is without colter or wheel, and is merely a share-point, set in a very rude piece of bent wood. I believe it to be as ancient as their empire, yet it answers for them.

They leave not the smallest spot [of productive land] untilled. The very sides of the roads are cultivated.† They also notice the variations of the atmosphere ; and recover a piece of very cold land by the use of bone ashes. In a word, they neglect no means of manuring the soil. One may see the Chinese habited in fine dresses of silk, with a basket in hand [and a muck-rake], following the buffaloes and hogs to collect whatever may be available for this purpose. So great pains is taken in the cultivation of the land, that sometimes a hill is entirely covered with rice-fields, one above another in the manner of terraces. Even the summit is often a rice-field. Should there be no river in the neighborhood, reservoirs are dug against a time of drought. If it is necessary to convey the water up from a brook, a chain-pump is employed for that purpose, fitted upon two cylinders. These machines are of great utility in mountainous districts, while on the lowlands there are canals which serve to irrigate the soil. The Chinese have few buffaloes or cattle of any kind, besides those which are indispensable for agriculture. Having well nigh a horror for milk, they raise no other cows, but fatten large numbers of fowls.

The food of more than half of the people is rice. They also cultivate maize, millet, wheat, and barley, but make very bad bread. Maize is eaten of a pulpy consistence in small cakes. Their most common meats are pork, beef, and the flesh of the horse and mule,

* May not this fact in some measure, at least, account for the chilling effect mentioned above, and ascribed to the presence of nitre in the soil? *Tr.*

† Our author must mean by this, nothing more than that the fields border on the roads, which are usually mere foot-paths, and often, particularly in lowlands, separate contiguous fields, being used instead of hedges. *Tr.*

and they are particularly fond of poultry.* Many [very poor people] also eat dogs and cats, though more rarely the latter. Their vegetables are beans, peas, sweet potatoes, carrots, radishes, melons, cabbages, lettuce, spinage, celery, and other garden vegetables not indigenous to Europe. Their meats, as well as their vegetables, are nearly all cooked in water, so that one must have a sharp appetite in order to eat them.

The ordinary drink is tea, since they are not able to drink water without exposing themselves to sickness.† In place of wine, they use spirituous liquors which are obtained from the grains enumerated above. The best of these spirits is that made of a kind of millet called *kaou leăng*, whose stalk resembles that of maize. We find nevertheless some vines, of which the grapes are eaten, but they know not how to make wine. Their fruits are nearly the same as those of France, but neither so savory nor so various.

The sugar-cane and all kinds of oranges are cultivated, at least as far north as the 30th degree of latitude. The southern provinces produce the famous lyche (leche), the lungyen or dragon's eye, the hwangpe, the banana, and pine apple. Among the other productions, we notice the cotton which is found upon a plant that is self-sown every year, especially in the middle provinces, and a sort of hemp ‡ different from that of Europe, which is repeatedly cut, and always sprouts again, until it is entirely uprooted. Of this plant, very beautiful and cool fabrics are made.

The Chinese also cultivate the European hemp, of which they make very coarse cloth. I doubt whether they have any knowledge of flax. They raise the silkworm in great abundance, and in the south gather two crops of silk as of rice. Medicinal plants are very numerous. In fine, the country yields mines of gold, silver, copper, and iron, and in all the provinces there are beds of fossil coal.

* Their most delicate dishes are shark's fins, and birdsnest-soup, procurable only by the most opulent inhabitants.

† Or more probably, there is such a fear prevalent among the people. It has come under our own observation. *Tr.*

‡ Doubtless the Sida of which grass-cloth is made. *Tr.*

Art. VII. *Description of the temple of Matsoo po, at Ama kŏ in Macao.* Prepared for the Repository by a Correspondent.

One of the most remarkable objects in the vicinity of Macao is the temple of the goddess Matsoo po, in the village of Ama kŏ, near the Bar fort, facing the Inner Harbor. It would be difficult to find another spot, where rocks had been grouped in more grotesque forms, or where art had displayed more taste in the masterly touches with which she has embellished the picture. The site is the steep side of a hill, to whose ascent you are invited by winding paths and easy flights of steps, relieved at short intervals by miniature temples, altars, and inscriptions; and shaded by the foliage of large and luxuriant fig-trees. Through the medium of a tremulous atmosphere on a summer's day, there is scarcely another place which presents so many attractions, promising such a cool reception, and so cold an entertainment.

Our northern friends may smile at this commendation, or even be alarmed at the change of temperament which it indicates; but if they will visit us in these sunny regions, we assure them that none of their *warmth of feeling* will evaporate; although we are not so sure that their predilections for this warmth may not. Be this as it may, they will join us in admiring this spot, and only regret, that amid scenes where the Creator has left so many impressions of himself—images of wood and stone, in resemblance no more exalted than their human authors, in reality their slaves, should be made to rob him of his glory, and blot his very being from the minds of his creatures.

It is exceedingly difficult to get at the reasons of the Chinese for selecting such sites. Their *fung shwuy*, or geomantic science is arrayed in, if not a mere array of, such mystic terms, that in attempting to extract an intelligible meaning from them, you are reminded of the vain efforts to decipher the prophecies of the Sybil, after the wind had displaced the leaves on which they were inscribed. A literary native of no mean parts, after mystifying learnedly to the increased confusion of his auditor, adopted another mode of explanation, which was far more satisfactory. He quoted the proverb, 神與人同 *shin yu jin tung*, 'the gods and men are alike;' which while it discloses their mournful ignorance furnishes a far more easy solution to this and many other difficulties than the abstract terms usually employed. I say *abstract:* for such they certainly appear

at least in one sense, and that is that all sense is abstracted from them. The dispositions and tastes of the gods corresponding with those of men, at once supplies the reason for the fine romantic situations of many of their sacred buildings, and for many of their offerings and subsequent feasts, in which it has been conjectured that if any reference was had to the gods at all, it was because all good things after being graciously accepted were complacently referred back to those who presented them. The following sketch is from the 'pencil' of the native referred to above.

"The temple at Ama kŏ is an ancient structure. In the reign of Wanleih, of the Ming dynasty (about A. D. 1573), there was a ship, from Tseuenchow foo in the province of Fuhkeën, in which the goddess Matsoo po was worshiped. Meeting with misfortunes, she was rendered unmanageable and driven about in this state, by the resistless winds and waves. All on board perished, with the exception of one sailor who was a devotee of the goddess, and who, embracing her sacred image, with the determination to cling to it, was rewarded by her powerful protection, and preserved from perishing. Afterwards when the tempest subsided, he landed safely at Macao, whither the ship was driven. Taking the image to the hill at Ama kŏ, he placed it at the base of a large rock—the best situation he could find—the only temple his means could procure.

"About fifty years after this period, in the reign of Teënke, there was a famous astronomer, who from some correspondence (unknown to common mortals) between the gems of heaven and the jewels of earth, had discovered that there was a pond in the province of Canton containing many costly and brilliant pearls, upon which he addressed the emperor, respectfully advising him to send and get them. His imperial majesty, availing himself of the important information, dispatched a confidential servant in search of this wonderful pond. On arriving at Macao, and passing the night at the village of Ama kŏ, the goddess appeared to the imperial messenger in a dream, and informed him, that the place he sought for, was at Hŏpoo in Keaou chow or the district of Keaou. He went to the place and procured several thousands of the finest pearls. Glowing with gratitude for the secret intimations he had received, he built a temple at Ama kŏ, and dedicated it to his informant. This temple stood until the 8th year of the present monarch (12 years ago), when it was found that the temporary repairs were not sufficient to supply the wastes of time. The ruined condition of the building aroused the zeal of the Fuhkeën and Taychew merchants, who subscribed more than 10,000

taels of silver to erect something more honorable to their favorite goddess. This was the origin of the present assemblage of buildings. The upper temple they dedicated to Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy, the middle one they designated the temple of Universal Benevolence, and the lower one they called after the name of the village in which it stands. At the side of the latter, they erected buildings, designed both for a temple and monastic apartments, and in both of these they placed images of Matsoo po. In the last-mentioned residence several priests dwell, who pay the usual morning and evening adoration to the goddess, keep the temple clean, and assist the worshipers to present their offerings and prayers.

"The hill of Ama kŏ is beautified with many venerable and shady fig-trees, the path is circuitous and ornamental, and the water prospect in front is extensive and varied. Those who visit the temple always extol the beauties of the place, and in later times, some of them inspired by the muses have written verses, which have been engraven on the rocks."

It is difficult to ascertain the exact reference in the large characters 太乙 *tae yuĕ*, which grace one of the highest rocks, and have been thought by some to bear a resemblance to the inscription on the altar at Athens, which furnished the apostle Paul with a text or motto for his masterly address to the Areopagites. They are given in the dictionaries as the name of a hill—a star—the genii called by the Chinese 仙 *seèn*. My learned oracle thinks they have no reference to any god, known or unknown. It is most probable that they have some connection with astrological superstitions.

ART. VIII. *Edict admonishing the inhabitants of Canton of the near approach of the period for putting in force the new law against the smokers of opium.*

The Chinese are not in earnest in the wish to prohibit opium. (Lord Palmerston.)

LIN, a director of the Board of war, member of the Censorate, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c.; and E, member of the Board of War, of the Censorate, &c.:

Whereas, after the term allowed for smokers of opium to reform

shall have expired, they who transgress must die, we once more therefore, and in the most urgent manner, make known our clear commands, that human life may be spared, and those awakened who are still in the deceptive road. According to the new law, ordained and widely promulgated last year by imperial authority, the criminal smokers of opium were allowed a year and a half, wherein if they fail to reform, whether officers, soldiers, or people, one and all are to be strangled. In the province of Canton, the term was extended from the promulgation of the law, July 6th, 1839, to December 19th, 1840. One year and two months have already elapsed ; to complete the period, there only remains about one hundred days. Death will then stand before your eyes !

We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, have repeatedly warned you most urgently, until our tongues are dry and our lips worn out, anxious only that our people, aware of the penalties of the law, may put away their sins, escape death, and live. Certainly you have human hearts ; and it behooves you thoroughly to repent and reform. At this late day, those who have torn themselves from the direful charm are not few ; nor indeed is the number small of those who still vainly procrastinate and delay—imagining that, if only for a little time they can remain secure, erelong the measures for searching and seizing will be relaxed ! Are they then fully aware, that this mortal punishment proceeds from imperial decrees ? That, after the lapse of the probationary period, offenders will be prosecuted with constantly increasing severity ? And that, this poisonous habit of smoking, unless it be cut off, will never cease ? Let them know, therefore, that very recently the following imperial commands have been received :

"In all the provinces diffierent degrees of severity have been exercised in searching for and in seizing the smokers of opium. Soon now the allotted period will expire. It may be that then, some of our high officers, filled with shame, will be unwilling to act ; or prefects and magistrates, shrinking from their duty, will not dare to act ; or, it may be, that, because the said capital offenders are many, the local officers, moved with pity, will not consent to do their duty. If at the present time they only contrive to practice concealment, the more evils that come forth after the appointed limit, then the more thoroughly and intensely odious will be their conduct. Our high officers, in the receipt of rich and large favors, and endowed with celestial kindness, are in duty bound sternly to command their subalterns to search and seize in the most faithful manner. If after the

instructions and admonitions now given, there be more trifling, procrastination, and inactivity; or if, on partial examination being made, affairs are neglected or concealed; this will be because our high officers have entirely destroyed their celestial kindness. And then it will be impossible for us to excuse them. Such are the commands. Let them be respected."

With reverence we reflect on the imperial will. How profound! How severe! Mark, if such be his majesty's reluctance to excuse his high officers, how then can they dare to excuse their subalterns? And of the civil and military officers, who will dare lightly to excuse the people? If any among you imagine that in some secluded apartments, it will there be impossible to search and find you out, and that there without fear you may smoke any opium you possess; are you fully aware how long and clear-sighted are the spies of the magistracy? Who of them will not like to receive rewards? Not only will your own servants expose your conduct, but your relatives and neighbors will join issue against you.

Wherever you may conceal your opium, or go to purchase the drug, there there will be persons secretly to find it out and report you to the magistracy, and receive the rewards. Once caught and brought to trial, your life will be at an end. Inquire of the many who are now confined in the prisons, whether they did not at first suppose they could deceive those about them? And thus they excused and comforted themselves. Only a little time before they were discovered and seized, these very persons supposed it was impossible they should be discovered, impossible they should be seized. When confined in prison, there their life is in suspense—half dead, half alive: and there the drug, which they could not renounce, is renounced; there their fathers and mothers cannot see them, nor their wives and children dwell with them—their bodies and their shadows condole with each other. What wretchedness is this!

Moreover, while the period is not yet closed, you are living victims; when it shall have expired, then you will be dead victims. You, who may escape the net till that time, in the twinkling of an eye will become headless men. Although we should desire to spare your lives, it will be impossible. While you yourselves care not in any way for your own lives, how can the magistracy protect and preserve them? When the laws show an offense to be worthy of death, what alternative does there then remain? Oh, alas! Who is there that does not wish to live? Why then drown yourselves in opium? Not to arouse when death approaches—ah, what folly can be greater than this!

Besides once more sternly instructing all the civil and military officers, to exert all their strength to search out and to seize the guilty, while the probationary time continues, we also as it is our duty, pointedly and earnestly address to you these our admonitory commands. And we do hereby announce them to the military and to the people of all classes, for their full information. This moment,—when the limited period has almost but not quite expired,—is the line of demarkation between life and death. Each step is becoming increasingly rapid, and each day more dangerons. Now if you do not reform, when will you do it?

You who are fathers, elder brothers, and friends,—whose rightful office it is to restrain, advise, and warn—can you endure to see them die and not save them? You ought to exert your utmost strength to tear them away, and guard them from the habit, to raise them from death, and to restore them to life. Wherever there is a public hall, there (among yourselves) make examination. Wherever there is an ancestral temple, there proclaim the prohibitions and the warnings. It matters not whether the habit is old or recent, the distress in reforming will scarcely exceed a single month. There are none who cannot break it off; and once broken off, your spirits will revive and increase, and your body will become healthy and vigorous. The threatened punishment avoided, your years may be prolonged to a good old age. Why then fear to adopt this course?

Only let our people with united hearts truly consent to put aside this habit and entirely cease to smoke, and of the opium brought hither by those wicked, disorderly, and crafty foreigners, not a particle can be sold. And how then can our country's property be purloined, or the lives of our people be injured? It may indeed be said, that as long as there remains one man who continues to smoke, so long the evils of this traffic will not cease. For all these reasons it is, that the celestial dynasty has established this law, by which the smoking of opium is made a capital crime.

Having now on this occasion set forth our warnings and admonitions, we, the governor and lieutenant-governor, shall have no more occasion to repeat to you our words. We can only maintain the law, carrying it into effect, and consigning to death those who are worthy thereof. You, who shall have incurred its heavy penalties, and on being apprehended shall for the first time be brought to a consciousness of your former misdeeds, cannot then seek to be regarded as good and honest people, or expect to be so fortunate as to become eventually good spirits. On the one hand you will be the

shame of your ancestors, and on the other the disgrace of your posterity. Although our hearts deeply pity you, yet in the execution of the law we cannot spare you. And while we thus admonish you with the utmost solicitude, we cannot forbear to mingle our tears with our words. But if after all, you will not turn from the delusive road, your certain death will be unworthy of commiseration. Be on your guard then, and tremble with fear. A special edict. (Sep 27th.)

Art. IX. *Provincial reports and imperial edicts relative to the occupation of Chusan by the English forces, and to the appointment of a commissioner to negotiate with the British authorities at Canton.*

The following official papers will show, better than any account of our own, what feelings have been excited, and what conduct has been induced, on the part of the Chinese, by the appearance of a strong foreign force upon their coasts. The papers, although brief and imperfect, are unquestionably authentic. Nos. 4 and 5 are copied from the Canton Register. The progress and operations of the expedition will be noticed in the journal of occurrences, to which the reader is referred.

No. 1.

"Woo, the lieutenant-governor, and Chŭh, the commander of Chĕkeăng, jointly report the loss of the city of Tinghae. The foreign ships having hastily approached the important entrance to Chinhae, we immediately planned with our might to resist and repel them, while we dispatch this express reverently to report—looking up, and intreating the sacred glance upon it. I, the lieut.-governor, as soon as the English wrote to the commandant of Tinghae in a strain of seditious violence, considered the water-approaches (to the place), and planning what should be done respecting them, have, on this the 8th of July, sent this report by express. At the same time, I hastily set out and traveling night and day reached Chinhae at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 9th, where I had an interview with the general Chŭh, and was astounded to learn that on the 5th of the month, Chang Cheaoufă the commandant of Tinghae, had an engagement with the rebellious English, in which their guns wounded a very large number of our officers and soldiers, and sunk the vessels. On the 6th of July the city of Tinghae was attacked and taken by the said English, and Yaou Kwaetseăng the acting magistrate, and Yu Fuh the secretary, not surrendering were kill-

ed. But the commandant Chang Chaoufă, [and the lieut. Tseen Pinghwan were wounded, and the acting lieut. Lo Keënkung, and the lieut. Wang Wănneĕn, and the acting ensign Kung Petaou, all returned to Chinhae. Also the sub-magistrate of Chinkeägaou, Choo Kweifuh, having previously received orders from the magistrate, had returned to his post soliciting aid. The rest of the civil and military officers are not to be found. I, the lieut.-governor, receiving this intelligence could not prevent my hair from bristling with anger. I also ascertained that Tinghae was distant only about 30 miles, and that without shifting a sail, they could proceed to the mouth of Chinhae, and straight pass into the interior; all the important passes are so situated as to have Tinghae for their outside guard, and the opposite hills of Cheaoupo, and Kinke to shut in the mouth of the entrance. At first commander Chŭh distributed his soldiers of the five cantonments, above 800, and commanded Hoo Tĭhyaou an acting subordinate officer of Chinhae cantonment, and Chow Szeching the commander of the troops at the left cantonment, to return to Chinhae, and dispatched 900 soldiers to remain at the passes of the capital of the district, and on the line of the coasts to guard these places. I the lieut.-governor also commanded my soldiers, 400 in number, to hasten to Chinhae to wait for orders; I also commanded Tăng Tingtsae the prefect of Ningpo to prepare vessels, and sink them at the entrance of the river; also to employ wooden piles (driven in the water) well secured with chains, and above them on the shore to build a wooden stockade to protect the place, and obstruct the way of the foreign ships that they may not be able to enter. Whilst thus planning and preparing, unexpectedly, on the 13th day, about 4 A. M. according to an announcement, many foreign ships had been distinctly seen outside at Leihshan, passing to and fro, not more than three or four miles distant from Chinhae. We have at present taken up our residence at the entrance of the river, to give orders and urge the soldiers most strenuously to provide against casualties. We have also heard that five rebellious English ships have arrived, which added to the others make in all 31 ships, having guns on both sides and fore and aft; the largest have three decks, the next size two, and the smallest one. Included are two vessels having wheels at their sides, which revolving propel them like the wind, passing to and fro with great rapidity, and acting as leaders. They have about 5000 or 6000 soldiers. If we fight with them, it is necessary that we should have a corresponding number, then we can engage them. I the commander sometime ago summoned 3500 soldiers from Hoochow, only 300 of whom arrived. These with all the soldiers that I the lieut.-governor command, which will arrive in a few days, (all the soldiers together at Chinhae being only 2000 and some odd,) are so disproportioned to the number of foreign soldiers, that at present it is better to reserve our force, and not hazard an engagement. First, we ought to devise some plan to wear out their soldiers, that they may be slow in advancing and retreating, and when our forces are collected in great numbers we can again act together to resist and attack them, that at an appointed time we may

at once seize them all. We must enjoin upon those who inhabit the coasts, at every landing place, to devise means to obstruct their landing. At Wănchow, and Hwang-gan, there is no need of many soldiers. The force at Chinhae being very small, it is our duty to request the imperial will, commanding Tăng the governor of Fuhkeën and Chĕkeăng provinces to select the great military officers to take command of the ships-of-war, and hastily dispatch them to Chĕkeăng. It matters not where the foreign vessels are, we may then, by uniting this force with that of Chĕkeăng, unitedly attack them.

"We also request the imperial will commanding Elepoo the governor of Leăng Keăng (Keăngse, Keăngsoo and Ganhwuy provinces) to order the naval force stationed at the boundary of Chĕkeăng to be on the guard, to prevent the foreign ships from passing northward, and send assistance to the Chĕkeăng navy. Besides sending this to the provincial city of Chĕkeăng, and to every civil and military officer at the several stations that they maintain the strictest guard, and also to the governors and lieut.-governors of every province, that they likewise order those under them to keep up a defensive guard, we also carefully dispatch our united report by post, and bowing intreat the emperor to bestow thereon his sacred glance and intruct us. A careful report."

No. 2.

A Memorial respecting the loss of Tinghae in Chĕkeăng. The imperial rescript has been received. "The remissness of the naval and military forces of Chĕkeăng can be known without inquiry. When the mean and contemptible [foreign fellows] dared to conduct in this outrageous and seditious manner, the high civil and military officers were immediately filled with trepidation, and lost all self-command. All they are ever good for is to know how to nourish their honorable selves and live at ease. The imperial will is to be still further communicated. Respect this."

On the same day, July 18th, an imperial decree was received through the Inner Council: to wit. "Woo reports that several English vessels have sailed to Tinghae in Chĕkeăng, where the men landed, and excited disturbances, of which he has given the particulars. Formerly, in order to prohibit [the importation of] opium, the trade of the said foreigners at Canton was wholly cut off. The imperial will had been already sent down, commanding the governors and lieutenant-governors vigilantly to guard and defend all the passes by sea; how has it followed then, that there has not been the least care exercised? Our officers are all no better than wooden statues, to allow them to land and excite sedition. Let Woourhkinggih and Chŭh Tingpeaou, for their former acts, be both delivered over to the proper Tribunal for examination, and punishment. Respect this."

On the same day, a dispatch traveling 400 *le* daily, was also received from the Board of War, communicated by the General Council to Woo the lieut.-governor of Chĕkeăng, dated July 20th, containing the imperial commands, (as follows):

"When, on account of the investigations into the opium traffic, the English lost all hopes of profit by trade, we were early apprehensive lest they would stealthily enter the ports and raise disturbances, and therefore gave repeated instructions to all the governors, lieut.-governors, and commanders to keep a close and vigilant guard upon all the ports and entrances, and not permit the said foreigners to sail into them. Now it appears, from the report of Woo, that the English sent a letter to the commandant of Tinghae, which exhibited their ungovernable obstinacy; and it is moreover known that they have already landed and surrounded the city for the purpose of attacking it. Having looked over this report, we cannot restrain our deep indignation. This abhorred set of fellows have no other design in this than to attempt their petty schemes, oppose our prohibitions, pervert our commands, and as of old seek to take advantage of the sedition they excite to prosecute their contraband trade: such employment as this is all they are capable of doing. If the beforementioned officers had been on the watch and guarded the posts, and the naval and land forces had been strictly disciplined, how could the landing of more than 3000 or 4000 men have happened? Thus in a sudden emergency like this, the high civil and military officers are straightway filled with terror, and lose all their self-possession. The lax condition of the troops and officers of Chĕkeäng can be known without inquiry. The imperial will is sent down, to take Woo and Chŭh and deliver them over to the proper tribunal for examination and punishment.

"The city of Tinghae, being in the outer waters, and surrounded by them, is in a critical situation; the said lieutenant-governor must increase the forces, dispose the vessels of war, and hasten to its rescue. Should the foreign vessels sail westward, they will doubtless furtively wait to attack important places, such as Ningpo and others, hoping to dispossess them and establish themselves. Let the troops and officers be instructed to proceed to every station to maintain a strict guard, and not permit the foreign vagabonds to enter stealthily. The imperial command is sent down by express, ordering Yu Pooyun, to take troops and hasten thence, to attack and drive them out. The time of his arrival is estimated, and let the said lieutenant-governor and his colleagues also with the whole strength of their minds deliberate upon a course of action, which may in some degree atone for their former delinquencies; but if they are again remiss, their guilt will be greatly increased. Let these commands be dispatched by express. Respect this."

No. 3.

On the 4th of October, was received (at the office of the hoppo in Canton?) from the governor, a communication as follows: On the 1st of October (6th day of the 9th month), I received a dispatch from the General Council, in these words. On the 17th September (22d day of the 8th month), the following imperial edict was received:

"Whereas, the English at the harbor of Teëntsin did first present a communication most manifestly civil and respectful, earnestly requesting an extension of favor, it seemed right to command Keshen pointedly and earnestly

to instruct and order, that they should not be allowed to create confusion and disorder, but only permitted to proceed to Canton to seek entrance; so that if indeed they should exhibit sincerity, the said minister and his colleagues would certainly memorialize in their behalf, begging for favor.

"Now, according to Keshen's memorial, the said foreigners have listened to and received his instructions and orders, and have already got under weigh and returned southward, having by memorial declared, 'that, along the whole coast, they will make no disturbance, provided they be not first fired on; but that, if they are attacked, it will be hard to stay the hand from retaliation; also that of the soldiers in Tinghae one half shall early be withdrawn, &c.' These said foreigners have heretofore been so disorderly and troublesome, albeit in some way excited thereto, that they justly merit detestation, and ought to be sorely punished and exterminated. Now it appears that the port of Tseuenchow foo in Fuhkeën, Chapo in Chekeäng, and Paoushan and Tsungming in Keängsoo, have each, earlier or later, with their rumbling thunders, beat the foreign ships, greatly dampening their ardor. And as these said foreigners have consented to come forward and beg for favor, it is not meet to inquire strictly into the past.

"To-day our will has been sent down appointing Keshen high commissioner, forthwith to proceed posthaste to Canton, in order to examine and arrange the business; and on his arrival there, he will be able to arrange it safely. But, apprehensive lest the governors and lieut.-governors along the coast may not be aware of the present state of affairs, this dispatch is therefore hastened 500 *le* per day to inform Elepoo, Sung Keyuen, Yukeën, Shaou Keäming, Tŏ Hwănpo, Tăng Tingching, Lin Tsihseu, and their colleagues, that they all yield obedience hereto; severally maintain the most important passes, faithfully and truly keeping up a defensive guard. Should any of the said foreigners pass along or anchor upon the high seas, it is not necessary to open a cannonade, but it is of great moment to keep a guard and defense, and not be first to make an attack; where it is requisite, there arrange in stern and close array [our troops]; also it is especially needful that there be no remissness or relaxing.

"A copy of Keshen's communication to the English, and their reply thereto given on the same day, are copied and sent herewith for Elepoo's inspection, to be forwarded by express. Let this be duly understood. Respect this."

No. 4.

On the 2d day of the 9th month (27th September), the (following) imperial commands were received:

"*Lin Tsihseu!* You received my imperial orders to go to Canton to examine into and manage the affairs relating to opium; from the *exterior* to cut off all trade in opium, and to terminate its many evils and disgraces; as to the *interior*, your orders were to seize perverse natives, and thus cut off all supplies to foreigners (probably the English are more particularly pointed at); why have you delayed so long in the matters connected with these small,

petty, contemptible criminals, who are still ungratefully disobedient and unsubmissive!

"You have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade, but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse natives! You have but dissembled with empty words, and in deep disguises in your report (to the emperor); and so far from having been of any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact, you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do: it appears then you are no better than a wooden image: when I think to myself on all these things, I am filled at once with anger and melancholy; we shall see in what instances you can answer to me.

"I order that your official seals be immediately taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Peking, that I may examine you in my presence; delay you not. I order the lieut.-governor E, to take charge of the government of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse.—Respect this."

No. 5.

On the 3d of the 9th month (28th Sept.), the imperial edict was received.

"Formerly, because opium flowed like poison into China, Lin was specially appointed to hasten to the port of Canton, and to consult with Tăng, to examine into and manage the affair: the (or my) original desire was to purify the Inner Land from its defilements, and to cut off the springs (whence opium flows): and that the affair should be managed according to the circumstances of place and time; but ever since the beginning of the management until now, perverse natives have been offending against the laws *inside*, ye (Lin and Tăng) have been unable to clear the land of them; while *outside*, the sources from whence it (opium) flows in abundance are still not cut off! And—an affair of extreme importance—this year the English barbarian ships arrived, and have been cruizing off the coasts of the provinces of Fuhkeën, Chĕkeăng, Keăngsoo, Shantung, Chihle and Shingking (or Leaoutung in Tartary), occasioning a multiplicity of affairs and defensive preparations, injurious to the revenue and toilsome to the army: all this proceeds from Lin and Tăng's management, and the unskillful manner in which they have pursued their measures. Let Lin and Tăng each be delivered over to the [Criminal] Board to be punished with increased severity.

"Lin when he arrives in Peking, is to wait for the deliberation of the Board. I direct Keshen to be the acting governor of the two Kwang provinces; and until his arrival, I order E, for the time being, to take charge of the government. This time the English barbarians have, at many places, presented petitionary cards (i. e. open papers), containing explanatory and defensive statements against injury and bending oppression; I, the emperor, clearly understand all the circumstances; and, decidedly, it was not they (the English) who began the movement.

"The said governors were especially appointed to meet and consult; and to control the conduct of the higher officers, but after all they have not been

of any real help in the matter; on the contrary, they have at length produced an affair impeding [the prosperity of] the country, and vitiating the people; nothing can exceed this (in enormity); on this account they are to be subjected to increased punishment; moreover, it is not on account of the said barbarians complaining petitions that they are hurried to severe punishment. Respect this."

Art. X. *War with China; order in council; speeches of leading members in parliament; contents of the Blue Book.*

Before noticing the debate in parliament, and the papers which are collected in the Blue Book—so well known as to have been sought for by commissioner Lin—we pause to call attention briefly to a single particular of H. B. M.'s order in council. Reason, humanity, and the law of nations—not to mention a higher code—all require, 'that different states do to each other as much good in peace, and as little harm in war, as possible, without causing injury to themselves.' That this good rule has not been strictly observed in the present struggle, may in part be attributable to a defect in the order in council. The 'late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the emperor of China,' ought, we think, to have been particularized in the said order; and, before the commencement of hostilities, H. B. M.'s complaints and demands ought to have been presented to his majesty Taoukwang. Suppose (for the sake of illustration), that the duke of Wellington's tenants, on a remote border of his estate, are in friendly intercourse with those of lord Palmerston, and that, for some real or imaginary injury received, the former maltreat the others, despoil them of their valuable merchandise, and then expel them from their master's domains. Exasperated at this rude treatment, the viscount issues an order for indemnity, and straightway sends to another part of the duke's estate an armed deputation, which there attacks the people, and killing some and wounding others, finally takes possession of their farm-house—his lordship meanwhile having omitted in his order to particularize the offensive acts, and having failed also to present his complaints directly and as soon as possible to his noble friend the duke, asking him for indemnity. In such a case, would their compeers approve the conduct of his lordship? Doubtless more consideration ought to be given to the duke, than there has been to the Chinese. Still, in their treatment of each other, nations are as

much bound by the obligations of humanity and justice as are individuals. What would be wrong in the one, would be equally so in the other. With both, on sound policy and Christian principles, retaliation would be incompatible. The taking of vengeance is not man's prerogative. Simple reparation for the past, with ample securities for the future, is the utmost that justice could demand.

Assuredly it is well that a strong expedition has been sent hither by the queen. It is only, or chiefly, to be regretted that her complaints and demands were not clearly set forth in the order, and with all convenient dispatch and becoming dignity carried directly to the dragon-throne. The meeting with the admiral off Chuenpe was only to seek relief from a cruel edict, by which was caused the sinking of his junks. In like manner, the more recent visit to 'the waters of the Nine Islands,' and the action there upon the Barrier, were merely to check a hostile ingress of armed men. But for the visit to Tinghae, we are as yet unable to discover any necessity. The line of policy which has been observed with regard to that place, and some others that have been attacked, we suppose has been pursued in obedience to instructions from the home government. Doubtless we are not in a position to see all the circumstances of the case; and it may be presumption and premature in us to express any opinion thereon; but we are constrained to think, and are free to confess, that the line of policy has been unwise, especially with regard to Chusan. By it, we do not perceive that advantage has been caused to any one, while the injury in the destruction of life and property has been very great. The good rule—to do the least possible harm—has not been maintained. But to determine who are mainly responsible for these losses, it is not in our province or power.

In reverting again to the parliamentary debates, our remarks shall be very brief. It was sadly unfortunate that, on a great national question of foreign policy, deeply involving both the interests and the honor of the country, three successive days should have been spent in a mere trial of the strength of political parties. So far as the 'China question' was concerned, ministers and members of parliament generally were possibly equally conscious of having neglected their duty; and it was doubtless mainly for this reason that there was so much shifting and shuffling, so much evasion and recrimination, and so little of the greatness of true British eloquence exhibited on that occasion.

Sir James Graham, the mover of the debate, was wrong in saying that the provincial governors of Canton have 'sanctioned the trade in

opium;' he was wrong too, we presume, in saying that the prohibitory law was passed, in the Chinese cabinet, by a majority of only one. Though we have seen most, if not all, of the Gazettes for several years, yet we have never before seen or heard that any member of the emperor's cabinet was ever in favor of legalizing the introduction of opium.

Mr. Macauley was quite safe in declaring that his government had not tried to stop the trade in opium—their conduct for years proclaimed the contrary, and showed how deeply interested they have been in its continuance;—but the reason he assigned for their not opposing it is too far fetched, though it be true, as he affirms—that, 'they [himself and others] expected it would be legalized by the Chinese government.' The opposition of this government to the opium trade has been long, steady, and strong—the prohibitions have been as clear and as explicit, and the measures to carry them into effect as constant and as vigorous, as the combined wisdom and power of the emperor and his ministers could make them, during a period of forty years. The only act, on the part of the imperial government, so far as we are aware of its proceedings, that could give any ground for Mr. Macauley's opinion, was, its temporarily entertaining the proposition of Heu Naetse: and just about as much reason was afforded by that act, as there would be to us for expecting the speedy surrender of the salt monopoly in India, if Mr. Macauley (while his government was steadily and carefully fostering that prolific source of Indian revenue) should propose the abrogation of that monopoly in a private memorial to the throne, and her majesty should entertain the subject so far as to condescend to send the memorial to the governor-general for his views thereon. This fact becoming known, counter memorials and remonstrances were poured in thick upon the emperor; and his majesty, in order to obtain the sense of the whole government, by special edict commanded 'the governors and lieut.-governors of every province to consult together, and then to wait upon him with the result of their deliberations, in so many duly prepared memorials.' And what was the result? Why, 'in the multitude of these memorials there may be some small difference of opinions, yet they are all alike in the main—this one only adds a clause still more severe to that one; and he in his turn proposes a still heavier punishment than his neighbor—*among them all there are no advocates for lenient measures.*' No, no, Mr. Macauley, there was not found, even one in all the length and breadth of this wide empire, an advocate 'for lenient measures'—either with regard to the use of the drug, or the

traffic in it. For both, the penalty was to be—after due warning and admonition—*death*. We do not stop here to discuss the policy of these severe measures; grant that it was, that it is, unwise; still it has been remarkably uniform and vigorous. And we can account for this steady policy only by supposing that the injuries, caused by the smoking of opium among the Chinese, are far greater, more numerous and more palpable, than we have been wont to believe them. Recent observations and some very strong cases of the indomitable effects of the drug, corroborate this supposition. We remember very well how much doubt and surprise were expressed when the first copy of Heü Naetse's memorial reached Canton — surprise that such opinions should emanate from Peking, and doubt whether the document was indeed authentic. This was in 1836; previons to which date, and subsequently to it, nothing has appeared, that we are aware of, in any way or degree indicative of a disposition to legalize the traffic; and we leave it for Mr. Macauley to give the reasons which led him and his colleagues to expect it would soon cease to be contraband.

That sir George Staunton should support his government in the present struggle, was to us no matter of surprise, though we do not agree with him in thinking the present war a just and fitting one. On the contrary, we contend that no hostile act, except blockade, ought to have been allowed here, until remonstrance had been fairly tried. Who shall answer for the losses of life and property sustained by the people of Tinghae? And after the taking of that city, who can wonder at the capture of the Kite, and the murder of captain Noble? Was the first act 'just and fitting,' and the latter not equally so? Or was the second 'murderous and savage,' and the other not equally so? The strongest argument, advanced by sir George for war against China, is the preservation of 'political ascendency' in India. Must then the 'mild and peaceful' Chinese be exposed to the 'splendid shot' of artillery, the 'magnificent display' of shells, and all the other refined sports of modern warfare, in order to maintain political ascendency on another part of the continent?

Dr. Lushington maintained, that, whereas sundry Chinese officers had connived at the trade, it was therefore highly proper that foreigners should be protected in the traffic at the provincial city,—because had they ceased to carry on the trade here, and submitted to leave Canton, "the only result would have been that they would have diffused the drug over other parts of the coast." Admirable logic!

With right good sense and great fairness, sir John Hobhouse acknowledged the debate to be 'a mere party matter;' and then in

'pounds of sycee,' brought back to Calcutta for opium sold in China, he disclosed the real and true cause why his government has been so tardy in its movements to support the legitimate trade, and to place it on a safe and honorable footing. Equal fairness and good sense were exhibited by the duke of Wellington; though neither he nor any other one of the speakers showed himself master of his subject. But time would fail us to point out all the errors we have observed in reading their speeches.

The "correspondence relating to China, presented to both Houses of parliament, by command of her majesty," forming the Blue Book, consists of a long list of papers, in Nos. extending from 1 to 159, dating in time from January 25th, 1834, to September 23d, 1839, filling 458 large folio pages, all relating to Chinese affairs. Copious as this official correspondence is, it has entirely failed to enlighten and to satisfy the British public; and probably it does not contain but a part of the documents sent from China to the Foreign Office. In fact, from a note to No. 37 (page 86), it appears—what before we had suspected—that the originals of Mr. Gutzlaff's essays on the Statistics of China, called *China Opened*, were deposited in the archives of her majesty's foreign office. The papers sent thither and contained in the Blue Book are principally from lord Napier, Mr. Davis, sir G. B. Robinson, and captain Elliot; those from thence, are from viscount Palmerston, excepting only a single memorandum and one short letter from the duke of Wellington; and they all refer to H. B. M.'s commission, which was formed on the dissolution of the E. I Company's factory in China. A few of these papers have already appeared in our pages; and other we shall notice from time to time as we have opportunity.

Art. XI. *Journal of Occurrences: British blockading squadrons; proceedings at Teëntsin and Chusan; armistice; negotiations; governors Keshen, Lin and Tăng; the hoppo; literary examination; winter caps; prisoners; Nipál; map of Eastern Asia; the Siamese; Borneo; French consul.*

Lists of British forces in China were given in our number for August; since then they have been increased, by the arrival, from the west coast of South America, of H B. M. ships the *Calliope*, 28,

captain Herbert, and the *Samarang*, 28, captain James Scott; and of the 37th regiment from India.

1. Our information respecting the movements of these forces has been kindly given us chiefly by eye-witnesses, and will afford our readers a tolerably accurate account of the general movements, down to the 20th of this month. The arrangements for blockade, after the occupation of Chusan, were mainly as here given.

Off the mouth of the Pei ho.

H. M. S. Wellesley, 74, captain Thomas Maitland.
H. M. S. Blonde, 42, captain F. Bourcheir.
H. M. S. Volage, 28, captain George Elliot, jr.
H. M. S. Pylades, 18, Commander Anson.
H. M. S. Modeste, 18, Commander Eyres.
H. C. steamer Madagascar, lieut. Dicey commanding.
The transports Ernaad, and David Malcolm.

Off the Yangtsze keäng.

H. M. S. Conway, 28, captain Drinkwater Bethune.
H. M. Brig Algerine, 10, lt. Mason commanding.
Young Hebe, a schooner.
The Kite transport, commissioned under a surveying lieutenant.

Off Ningpo.

H. M. S. Alligator, 28, commander Kuper, acting captain.
H. M. S. Cruizer, 18, commander Gifford.

Off the river Min and Amoy.

H. M. S. Blenheim, 74, captain sir Humphrey Sen Fleming Senhouse.
The Braemar, transport, commanded by a lt., with other vessels.

At Chusan.

H. M. S. Melville, 74; Rattlesnake, troop ship; Marion, transport, having commodore sir J. J. Gordon Bremer's broad pennant on board; a steamer, and a number of transports.

Off the Choo keäng, the port of Canton.

H. M. S. Druid, 44, captain H. Smith.
H. M. S. Larne, 20, captain J. P. Blake.
H. M. S. Hyacinth, 20, captain W. Warren.
H. M. S. Columbine, 18, captain J. T. Clarke.
H. C. steamer Queen, captain Warden.

2. The plenipotentiaries, having been 25 days at Chusan and in its vicinity, left that group about the end of July, and proceeded northward—with the fleet named above. Passing the promontory of Shantung on the 5th Aug., the Wellesley anchored on the 9th off the mouth of the river *Pei* 白河, in lat. 38° 55′ 30″ N., long. 118° E., with six fathoms at low tides.

On the 10th, the steamer Madagascar, with captain Elliot on board, proceeded towards the shore; and the next day, the 11th, she anchored within the mouth of the river. The Chinese had been watching her movements; and Keshen the governor of the province, the third member of the emperor's cabinet, a Mantchou, had come down to Takoo, and there awaited her arrival, in order early to receive any dispatches of which she might chance to be the bearer.

The steamer, drawing 11ft. 9 inches, found 12ft water on the Bar at spring tides. At low water, there were only from 3 to 4 feet. A great number of junks were daily passing in and out at the mouth of the river, the largest of which were obliged to wait for the spring tides, and some of them had to discharge a part of their cargo, before they could go over the Bar. In clear weather, the forts and a pagoda, near the river's mouth, were visible from the anchorage of the fleet, distant 12 or 14 miles, due east.

On the 13th, an officer was dispatched by Keshen, to the squadron, with orders to supply the ships with provisions; and cattle, sheep, &c, were brought off plentifully. Pay for the same was offered, but refused in the first instance; subsequently, however, it was agreed that pay should be received which was done accordingly.

On the 15th, the needful arrangements having been made, the governor sent his trusty aid-de-camp, *showpei Pih,* alias captain White, to go on board the Wellesley, there to receive, from the plenipotentiaries, lord Palmerston's communication, the same document apparently, or rather the original of that which had twice before been presented and refused, first at Amoy, and again off Ningpo.

The next day, August 16th, the letter of H. B. M.'s principal foreign secretary was duly delivered into the hands of the aforesaid showpei Pih, a right trusty servant of H. I. M.'s most faithful minister Keshen, by whom it was to be laid before the emperor.

The same day, the 16th—ten days having at Keshen's urgent request been allowed for an answer,—the squadron started for the coast of Mantchouria, intending to make the island of Changhing (長興島 Changhing taou) near the main-land, on the east side of the gulf of Leaoutung, with a view to obtain there additional supplies of water and cattle. (In the second volume of the Repository, page 24, this place, or a part of it, is called Tungtsze kow, and is put down in latitude 39° 28′ north, and longitude 121° 7′ east.) The Blonde, Modeste, and Ernaad, succeeded in reaching it, and in obtaining supplies, though not without some difficulty. A few specimens of natural history were brought away from there, and among them some small pieces of coal, said to have been obtained from a place near the town of Fuhchow, opposite the island on the mainland. Some native boats were seen loaded with coal.

The Wellesley, a gale coming on, was driven southward to Toke, 砣幾, one of the 'Meaou taou,'—that group of islands which forms the door of the gulf of Leaoutung. Toke is one of the largest islands of the group; and from it, cattle and other stock were obtained, the people being compelled to sell them.

The Volage failed to reach either the Meaou taou or Chanhing; but on returning, found the Pylades in communication with the shore, on the west side of the gulf, at Keen ho, 減河, (having arrived there with the David Malcolm and steamer Madagascar,) under the *Sha-luy teen,* 沙壘田, Sand-hill fields—not thunder-and-light-

ning sands, as they have often and erroneously been called. Here also, at Keen ho, cattle and sheep were obtained. These vessels having been joined by the Wellesley, they all together regained their former anchorage, off the mouth of the Pei ho, on the 27th.

On the 28th, no reply having been received from Keshen, a strong boat-force, in hostile array, carrying a menacing letter for the cabinet minister, was proceeding towards the shore, when, lo, it was ascertained that the reply had been sent off on the 24th and 25th, but no foreigner was found at the anchorage to receive it!

On the 30th, a conference was held on shore between H. B. M.'s plenipotentiary, capt. Elliot, and H. I. M.'s cabinet minister, Keshen. Near the mouth of the Pei ho, on the southern side of the channel, a plat of ground in the form of a parallelogram was marked off by a light fence of cloth, stretched on poles and cords, like a Tartar encampment. In this were two large tents, one for the plenipotentiary and suit, and the other for the cabinet minister, with several smaller ones for their attendants and servants. The conference was held in Keshen's tent, where captain Elliot was attended by Mr. Morrison and another young gentleman both as interpreters: the cabinet minister also had but one or two confidential attendants present on the occasion. All Chinese assumption of superiority was laid aside, and the utmost degree of urbanity exhibited—this however was done apparently without manifesting any readiness to meet the demands of her majesty's government, or even to give definite answers thereto. Thus, this and the next day both passed, without any satisfactory results. At length, reference to Peking was again desired by Keshen, which was granted, and six days, dating from the 3d of September, were allowed for a reply.

On the 4th, a party went northward in the steamer, and approached the coast at the point where the Great Wall terminates, in latitude 40° 04′ N., longitude 120° 02′ E. Judging from a sketch, which was taken of it by one of the party, the wall, after descending from the highlands, which are remarkably precipitous and very rugged in their aspect, stretches northward two or three miles across a narrow plain to a ledge of rocks, with which it seems to unite, and there loses itself in the waters of the gulf of Leaoutung.

What answer was returned on the 9th, or whether indeed any came or not, we are unable to state. Among the Chinese, a rumor has obtained that twenty-six propositions were brought forward by the plenipotentiary, of which ten were at once set aside, the others were to be considered. No confidence can be placed in this rumor; nor, so far as we know, are any parties (except those immediately concerned) at all aware what may be the contents of lord Palmerston's letter, or the nature of the answer to it, if indeed it has been answered.

On the 15th—and, we are told, contrary to the wishes of the Chinese—the squadron took its departure; and after spending a few more days north of the promontory, late in September arrived again at Chusan.

3. *Tinghae*, having in due form been declared to be the right and lawful possession of queen Victoria, the following appointment of governor was made. The notice we quote from the Singapore Free Press, 17th September.

NOTICE.

"The chief city of Chusan having fallen to H. M.'s arms, I have deemed it necessary, during H. M.'s pleasure, to empower brigadier Burrell, in command of the troops of the eastern expedition, to provide for the civil, fiscal, and judicial administration of the government of the island, and any other towns or districts which may be hereafter reduced; and I have therefore to direct and require that the authority aforesaid may be duly respected.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, rear-admiral and commissioner in chief."

So contradictory are the reports respecting the state of affairs at Tinghae, that for the present we shall restrict our remarks to a few particulars; and first, regarding the island itself; a correspondent there thus writes:

"The Chusan islands seem to be an extremity of the chain of mountains, supposed to branch off from the Himálayas, which runs through Yunnan and Kwangse, on the north of Kwangtung, and so into Fuhkeën, ending in Formosa, and into Chĕkcäng ending here. The principal Chusan island is in itself a miniature system; from the central heights, little streamlets flow between hills for some distances, till the hills, separating wide apart, leave a plain open to the sea. Of such vallies, ending in level flats on the coast, and embraced on three sides by heights, there are perhaps a dozen or more. The plain of Chusan is the largest, and several little vallies lead from the hills into it. (No, there is one on the northeast, I am disposed to think, somewhat larger, but its port is too shallow for any but very small boats.) In each of these plains are some villages, and pretty little hamlets in the lovely vallies, by which from the centre they are approached. Here, after a little time, one will be able to live in perfect security. * * * The people are very talkative, thievish, troublesome, but tame—wanting little to hold them in subjection,—and inquisitive."

Great as the mortality has been among the troops—and by latest accounts more than 300 had died, and more than 1500 were in the hospitals—nothing that we know of the islands, as regards their situation, climate, &c., lead us to suppose they are unhealthy. A sketch which we have seen, of the harbor of Tinghae, of the landing place, the hills beyond, (on one of which stands the josshouse where troops are quartered,) and of the highlands which rise in the distance, indicates a rich and beautiful country. Surveys of the island and of the waters around it, some of which have been already made, will afford erelong better means of judging accurately of the capabilities and advantages of Chusan. On a chart, kindly handed us a few hours by H. M. Clarke, esq. one of the party who visited the Great Wall, we observe that a great many corrections have already been made by the officers of the blockading squadrons. A deep and safe channel has been found for large ships into the Yangtsze keäng. These surveys will ultimately prove of great advantage.

Captain *Anstruther* of the artillery was seized by the Chinese near the city of Tinghae, on the evening of the 16th of September; and though a thousand bayonets went speedily in pursuit of him, his rescue was not effected.

The capture of the *Kite* and her crew, with the murder of captain Noble, are equally untoward events, of which, at present, we are un-

able to lay before our readers any satisfactory accounts. They and captain Anstruther, with one or two others, were, according to latest reports, all detained at Ningpo, as prisoners of war, the demands for them by capt. Elliot having been refused .

The *Indian Oak*, which had been dispatched to Singapore, was wrecked on one of the Lewchew islands; her crew were all saved, and returned to Chusan by the natives in a junk built for that purpose.

4. An *armistice* appears to have been agreed on between the plenipotentiaries, admiral and captain Elliot, and the cabinet minister Keshen. See the imperial edict, page 412.

4. *Negotiations*, which were commenced at the mouth of the Pei ho, are to be renewed in this neighborhood: the exact time, place, &c., at which the high contracting parties are to meet have not yet transpired. By many of the Chinese in Canton it is confidently affirmed that these negotiations will lead to a speedy and satisfactory issue, and commerce will again be resumed. Many foreigners entertain a different opinion. Is the emperor prepared to grant all that the British government have asked and will insist on? Partial concessions will be made, and these for a time may satisfy the demands. As yet we see no sufficient reasons to warrant any strong expectations of a speedy and permanent settlement of the existing difficulties.

6. *Keshen*, who has been appointed high commissioner, to settle all differences internal and external at Canton, is expected to arrive in the provincial city at or before the middle of November.

7. *Lin Tsihseu*, late imperial commissioner and governor of these two provinces, it is now confidently affirmed, will await Keshen's arrival, and not, as the edicts on a preceding page declare, proceed immediately to Peking. Tăng Tingching, Han Shaouhing, and some others, late of this government, are likewise at Canton to meet Keshen, by whom an examination of their conduct is to be made. Lin, though now menaced by his august master, still stands high in the estimation of those over whom he was lately governor; and even his bitterest enemies confess that his hands are pure from bribes. Just before he resigned his seals to the lieut.-governor, he paid a visit to the shipping at Whampoa, having had occasion to go to that neighborhood to witness the destruction of opium.

8. The *hoppo*, Wăn, having been summoned to Peking, has also delivered over the seals of his office to the lt.-governor. We have not heard who is to be his successor.

9. The *gracious examination* has gone off with the usual éclat; the degree of *sewtsae*, alias A. M., was in regular order conferred on 74 young literati, and on 14 *fuhpang*, or secondaries. Among the successful candidates were two, the sons of hong merchants. This degree is the first direct step in the high road to civil and state honors.

10. The *winter caps*, or bonnets, were on the 25th, by special edict, ordered to be put on in exchange for those worn in summer. Admonitions to guard against fires are also published by the local magistrates. These are mere matters of form.

11. The *prisons* in Nanhae have recently excited the attention of

the provincial government—an attempt to release some of the prisoners having been discovered. The leader and some of the accomplices have been executed.

12. *War in Nipál* seems to be more and more certain, and the state of affairs in China will most likely be regarded as additional reason for prosecuting it vigorously.

13. A new *map of Eastern Asia* is announced by Mr. Tassin of Calcutta: it embraces Bengal, the Indo-Chinese states, China, Corea, and Japan, with the whole of the Eastern Archipelago, 'delineated with the utmost accuracy, and according to the most recent authorities.' Some of these maps we hope will be sent on to China.

14. The *Siamese*, by recent accounts from Bangkok, were endeavoring to augment their war-establishment—designed, it was supposed by some, either to resist any hostile visit from the English (who were expected to fail in China), or, as it was believed by others, to renew hostilities on Cochinchina. The king and his ministerss were continuing their measures both against the traffic in opium and the use of the drug.

15. From *Borneo* we have lying before us, by the kindness of a friend, two letters, one dated Sambas Aug. 1st, and the other Pontiana August 10th, 1840, both brought by Chinese junks. It is generally known that there are many Chinese settlements in Borneo, and that intercourse is kept up between some of these and their friends in the celestial empire. For the benefit of the Chinese and other inhabitants of Sambas and Pontiana, the Dutch government is giving its sanction to the establishment there of Christian missions. These, by means of schools, the promulgation of divine truth, and the diffusion of a knowledge of useful arts and sciences, will, if prudently conducted, erelong make the great wilderness which Borneo now is, become physically and morally a well-cultivated field, and in its villas and hamlets, its towns and its cities, its private and public institutions, comparable with the fairest portions of Christendom. The furtherance of objects so noble, the Netherlands' government may justly view with mingled feelings of approbation and satisfaction; but the labor of carrying them on will be long and arduous, requiring energies and virtues of the highest order. One of the letters before us mentions a very pressing invitation from the *kungse*, or chief, of the Chinese at Pamangket, for Mr. Doty, the writer of one of the letters, to come and settle in his village. Two tours had recently been made from Pontiana—on one of these, the travelers ascended Sangaur,—the largest branch of the Pontiana river,— abont 200 miles, visiting the principal settlements, and gathering information concerning the Dayaks; the other tour was up a northern branch of the same river, a distance of about 70 miles to Kumandor, a place visited by Messrs. Doty and Pohlman in 1838.

16. Monsieur *Charles Alexandre Challaye*, attaché au consulat général de Manila gérant de consulat de France en Chine, arrived in China on the 20th ult., per the La Rose, captain Costey. A French commissioner, it is said, is on his way to China.